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# TRAVELS

OF AN

# IRISH GENTLEMAN

IN

# SEARCH OF A RELIGION.

WITH

Notes and Illustrations

BY THE

EDITOR OF "CAPTAIN ROCK'S MEMOIRS."

*Thos Moore*

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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TRAVELS  
OF  
AN IRISH GENTLEMAN  
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SEARCH OF A RELIGION.

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CHAPTER I.

Brief recapitulation.—Secret out, at last.—Love affair.  
—Walks by the river.—“Knowing the Lord.”—Cupid  
and Calvin.

I HAD now closed my vain search after Protestantism through the first ages; and the whole process and results of my inquiry may, in a very few sentences, be recapitulated. As Protestants profess to have restored Christianity to its primitive purity, it was but natural to expect that among primitive Christians I should find the best Protestants. Ac-

cordingly, betaking myself, as has been seen, to the Apostolical era of the Church, I continued my search from thence downwards, through those four first ages which, like the steps of Jacob's ladder nearest heaven, may be said to have caught most directly and freshly upon them the effusions of divine light. And what, after all, were the fruits of this most anxious and conscientious search? where, let me ask, through that whole pure period, did I find one single Protestant—where even the smallest germ of anti-Catholic doctrine? Was it in the Good Works and Weekly Fasting of Barnabas and Hermas, or in the Corporal Presence and change of the elements maintained by St. Ignatius and St. Justin? Was it in the reverence paid by the former to the oral Traditions of the Church, or the veneration in which his ashes and those of Polycarp were held by the Christians who immediately succeeded them? Did St. Irenæus speak in the spirit of Protestantism when he claimed for the See of Rome “superior Headship” over all other Churches, or when he pronounced

the oblation of the body and blood on the altar to be the Sacrifice of the New Law?— But it is needless to go again, however cursorily, through all the stages of that evidence; which must have proved, I think, to even the least candid reader, that there is not a single one of those doctrines or observances, now rejected by the Protestants, as Popish, that was not professed and practised, on the joint authority of the Scriptures and Tradition, by the whole Church of Christ, through the four first ages.

While thus I found Catholicity—or, if you will, Popery—among the orthodox of those times, among whom, and among whom alone, was it that I found the doctrines of Protestantism? Let the shade of Simon Magus, that great father of Calvinism, stand forth and answer;—bring the Capharnaites, with their presumptuous questioning as to *how* our Lord could give us his flesh to eat;—let the Gnostic believers in the marriage and progeny of the Holy Ghost bring forward their doctrines of Election, Per-

severance, Immutable Decrees, &c.;—let the Manichæans come and assert the utter depravity of human nature and the utter slavery of the human will;—bid the Docetæ, and Marcionites produce their bodiless and bloodless Eucharist;—call Novatian, Acrius, Vigilantius and the like, to protest against Tradition, Prayers for the Dead, Invocation of Saints, and Reverence of Relics;—let, in short, the entire rabble of heretics and schismatics who, during that time, sprung up in successive array against the Church, come and club their respective quotas of error towards the work, and, I shall answer for it, such a complete body of Protestant doctrine may be therefrom compiled as might have saved the Reformers of Wittenberg and Geneva the whole trouble of their mission.

Such, then, being the view I had taken of this most important matter,—a view adopted, after much deliberation, and with very sincere reluctance,—it will naturally be concluded that, however imperative might have been my motives for turning Protestant, I had



now abandoned all thoughts of undergoing so retrograde a metamorphosis. Marvellous, however, as it may well appear, this was by no means the case. On the contrary, I felt myself still drawn on, as by the hand of destiny; and with a sort of fascinated feeling like that of persons standing upon the edge of a precipice, so long had I now been gazing into the misty gulf of Protestantism, that it was with difficulty, I found, I should be able to forbear the leap.

And this brings me, at last, to the explanation which I have so long promised my readers, respecting the motives which, independently of those mentioned at the commencement of this work, impelled me to smother, as far as lay in my power, all religious scruples, and to resolve,—even should I find the features of Protestantism not such as would stand the light of day,—to embrace her in the dark. Though foreseeing that my change of faith would be, in a spiritual sense, infinitely for the worse, I yet tried to persuade myself that it was, after all, but fair, that,

having suffered so much in the service of a good religion, I should now try to recompense myself by a little of that prosperity which I saw attached to the profession of a bad one. In short, my voyage was, like that of Jason, after a Golden Fleece; nor was there wanting, as will appear from the following narrative, a fair Medea to assist me to the acquisition of it.

The house in which my father resided, on his own small estate, in the County of ——, was situated in the neighbourhood of part of the property of Lord \* \* \*, one of our most considerable absentees, whose agent, a sort of second-hand Lord himself, was left to manage all the concerns of those immense possessions, as though they were entirely his own. About two miles from the house where we lived lay the residence of this agent, and a close intimacy had, for a long time, subsisted between the two families;—that of the agent consisting but of himself and a rather elderly maiden sister, whose fate it was, as will be seen, to have considerable influence over my destinies, spiritual as well as tem-

poral. The lady and her brother were, it need hardly be said, Protestants,—the noble owner of the property being of that class of orthodox persons who would have thought it unsafe to bring any religion in contact with their pounds, shillings, and pence, save only Protestantism.

It was a frequent boast with Miss \* \* that her family had been all of this dominant faith since the time of the Reformation ; though by some of the older neighbours it was, indeed, hinted, that this Protestantism of hers, if hereditary, had been, for some generations, to their knowledge, in at least a latent state. That it had again broken out, however, in Miss \* \*, in the most decided form, was allowed by all ; —her case being of that species called the Evangelical, or Vital.

This spinster had early expressed a warm interest in my salvation, and having, like all persons of her school, a strong taste for proselytism, would frequently propose to me a walk, along the banks of the river, for the charitable

purpose of conversing with me upon religious subjects, and teaching me, as she expressed it, to “know the Lord” as intimately as she did. What with phrases, indeed, such as I have just quoted, and the exceeding pride she at all times took in talking of her brother’s noble patron, the word “Lord,” in one shape or the other, was hardly ever out of her mouth,—producing equivoques occasionally, between the spiritual and the temporal, which, though diverting, it would not be quite reverent to mention.

Whether, in these efforts for my conversion, the lady had, originally, any further view than merely to gratify that love of interference, which in Saints is so active, I will not pretend to determine. But it was not long before I perceived that feelings of another description had a good deal mixed themselves with her anxiety for my spiritual welfare; nor could I help observing that, in proportion as I approached the marriageable time of life, and as she herself receded from

it, a more tender tone of interest began to diffuse itself through her manner;—our walks became, through her management, more frequent and prolonged; and even her religious discourses came to be so “rosed over” with sentiment, that never before were Cupid and Calvin so undistinguishable from each other.

Though it was impossible, as I have already said, to be blind to what all this indicated, there were yet circumstances, setting aside the lady’s advantage in years, which rendered me incredulous as to her having the least notion of a matrimonial union between us. To become the wife of a Papist, I had frequently heard her declare, would be, on her part, such an act of base and wilful degeneracy as might well make her Protestant ancestors start from their graves with indignation;—in addition to which, having, as was generally believed, no fortune, except what her brother, out of his bounty, might be disposed to give her, it seemed the most improbable thing in the world that she should

run the risk of incurring his displeasure by forming an alliance, in other respects so injudicious, with one so ill off in worldly means as myself.

## CHAPTER II.

Rector of Ballymudragget.—New form of shovel.—Tender scene in the shrubbery.—Moment of bewilderment.—Catholic Emancipation Bill carried.—Correspondence with Miss \* \*.

THUS stood my views of the matter, when, during a visit of a few days to my family, there occurred a circumstance which removed all doubts, as to our fair neighbour's object, and opened a vista into the future which at once dazzled and perplexed me. I have already, in the preceding volume, made my readers acquainted with another of my father's neighbours, the rich Rector of Ballymudragget.—So closely, indeed, from my very infancy, was the figure of this portly personage connected with all my notions concerning matters of religion, that were I now to be blessed with visions as beatific as those of St. Teresa herself, the corpulent shadow of this

Rector would be sure to bustle across the light of my dreams.

His vast importance in our neighbourhood,—his eternal tithes, of which I had no other notion, as a child, than that they were a peculiar sort of delicacy on which Rectors lived,—his awful hat, which used to be seen moving, like a meteor, along our roads, affrighting the poor and exacting homage from the rich,—the select fewness of the auditory to whom he all but soliloquized his Sunday discourses,—every thing, in short, connected with him concurred to give me a strange and confused notion of the religion of which he was minister, and to make me look up to him as a sort of Grand Lama enshrined at Ballymudragget. As I grew older, I came, of course, to understand the matter more clearly, and to know that, under the mock title of Minister of the Gospel, the old gentleman was but the fortunate holder of a good sinecure of some 2,000*l.* per ann., to which the father of the present Lord \* \*



had, some twenty years back, appointed him.

At the period of my visit, just alluded to, the Rev. Gentleman was rather dangerously ill, and, except as a matter of gossiping conversation, the circumstance excited but little interest in the neighbourhood. A change of hat was, indeed, all that most persons speculated on, in the event of his death, and it was generally acknowledged that, as a variety, some new form of shovel would be acceptable. If rumour, however, was to be credited, our snug neighbour, the agent, had a far more substantial interest in the good Rector's demise; the present Lord having, it was said, promised, on succeeding to the title, that the next presentation to the living should be at his agent's disposal.

How far this rumour was founded I had never even taken the trouble of asking; but, one memorable morning, when a report, it appeared, had got abroad, that the old Rector was so much worse as to be given over by his physicians, Miss \* \* proposed to me

a walk to the Parsonage House to make inquiries. On our arrival at the door, we were admitted, and while the servant took up our message, my companion and I sauntered through the trellised conservatory which opened from the Rector's well-furnished study into the neat lawn and shrubberies by which his mansion was surrounded. Having never before seen the place by daylight, I happened to ejaculate, as we walked along, "What luxury! what comfort!" when my fair companion, as if unable to contain her feelings any longer, turned to me with a look of the most languishing tenderness, and, laying her hand gently upon my arm, said, "How should *you* like to be the master of such a residence?"

It was impossible to misunderstand her;—the look, the tone of voice, the question itself spoke volumes. I saw the power of presentation in her eyes; felt the soft pressure of induction in her hand; and was already, in the prospective dream of my fancy, her husband and a Rector! That chasm which, but

a few seconds before, had seemed to yawn between Popery and the Thirty-nine Articles, was now, by a sudden bound of my imagination, cleared without difficulty, and, had not our conversation been providentially interrupted, I was on the point, I fear, of committing myself to some engagement of which, both as man and as Christian, I should have repented.

To the significance of the few broken sentences which, in this short interval, fell from her, I should in no respect do justice by merely repeating them. Brief as they were, they conveyed summarily to me the important intelligence, that her brother, through whose recommendation the next incumbent was to be appointed, had placed the benefice at her sole disposal, as a marriage portion, with whomsoever she might find ready and worthy to share it with her;—that to her selection of me, as the happy occupant of both these blessings, my unlucky religion was the whole and sole obstacle, and that it depended but upon myself, should the Rector die to-morrow, to

embrace Protestantism, and her, and Ballymudragget together! Though dazzled at first by this prospect, there needed, I must say, but a moment's reflection to restore my mind to the balance it had been on the point of losing. Putting the religious part of the question wholly out of consideration, I saw instantly what a mark of dishonour must for ever attach to my name, if, in the apparently hopeless state of the Catholic prospects, at that moment, I should desert the fallen faith of my fathers, and for so glaring a bribe.

From the task of explaining all this to the lady herself, the speedy recovery of the old Rector saved me;—but that unlucky scene in his shrubbery had given an entirely new character to our intercourse. The bewilderment into which she had seen me thrown by her few pregnant sentences was interpreted by her in the sense most favourable to her own wishes; and, without expressly returning to the subject, there was in all our intercourse, from that moment, an evident impression, on her part, of a sort of tender

understanding between us,—an impression which, partly from an habitual unwillingness to give pain, and partly, perhaps, from a little vanity in this my first conquest, I took no pains to remove.

In about two or three months after this period, the Emancipation Bill was carried; and of some of the effects which that great event produced upon my mind, the reader has been already told. During the time I was employed in pursuing my course of sacred studies, I found myself unable to afford an opportunity of paying a visit to home; and my intercourse, therefore, with my fair converter was, unluckily for me, confined solely to letters. I call this mode of communication, in my instance, unlucky, because the object addressed being out of sight and at a distance, my imagination was left free to invest her with all sorts of agreeable attributes, without having its pictures brought disturbingly to the test of reality, or its spells weakened—perhaps, broken—by the idol's voice and presence. The consequence

was, that my fair correspondent still more and more brightened upon my imagination, the longer she continued absent from my sight; and in proportion as I forgot what she really was, I became but the more deeply enamoured of what I fancied her to be. How far the prospect of a rich rectory, with its tithes, great and small, might have had a share in producing and nurturing up this dream of sentiment, I must leave to others to conjecture. That such rectorial realities may have helped to give substance to the vision, I will not entirely deny; but still in imagination, the result was not the less tender and sentimental, and could I have been well secured against the casualty of ever again seeing, or speaking with the lady of my love, there is no saying to what extraordinary lengths of time and ardour my passion might have persevered.

### CHAPTER III.

Miss \* \*’s knowledge of the Fathers.—Translation for her Album from St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, St. Gregory, and St. Jerome.—Tender love-poem from St. Basil.

THOUGH I had not yet mustered up sufficient courage to make Miss \* \* acquainted with the result of my searches after Protestantism, she knew and, of course, duly appreciated the efforts I was making to render myself worthy of her hand. Not that this evangelical lady’s learning extended so far back as to give her the least notion of the existence of any such persons as the Fathers;—her reading having chiefly lain in such New-Light paths as the Evangelical Magazine and Morning Watch, where authorities such as the Rev. E. Irving, and the reputed Elias, Mr. Louis Way\*, would be sure to carry the

\* The honour, which this pious gentleman has now for some time enjoyed, of being looked upon as no less a per-

day triumphantly against all the St. Justins and St. Ambroses of antiquity. She was, however, courteous enough to give me credit for having adopted the most effectual mode of Protestantizing myself—and only hinted, now and then, affectionately that she thought me a long time about it.

By way of keeping her in good humour, as well with the Fathers as with myself, I occasionally translated into verse some of the many florid passages which occur in these writers, and laid them, in double homage, at once, of poetry and piety, at her feet. With these half tender, half saintly strains, the lady was, as may be supposed, inexpressibly delighted. To the task of copying them out her most delicate crow-quills were devoted; and it was

sonage than Elias *incog.* was attributed also, I find, by some sectaries of the last century, to a devout captain of dragoons, whom they singled out, I know not why, for the same mysterious distinction. In a similar manner, the Seekers, by whom St. John, the Apostle, is expected back again upon earth, gave out, some time ago, that he was actually arrived and living retired in the County of Suffolk. See *Honori Reggi, de Statu Ecclesie Britannicæ.*



the first time, I dare swear, in the annals of gallantry, that the names of St. Basil, St. Gregory, and St. Jerome were fated to shine forth in the pages of a morocco-covered Album.

The pathetic remonstrance addressed by St. Basil to a Fallen Virgin, (of which Fénelon has said, "on ne peut rien voir de plus éloquent,") abounds with passages to which, though in the form of prose, such poetry as the following does but inadequate justice.

#### ST. BASIL TO A FALLEN VIRGIN.

Remember now that virgin choir \*

Who loved thee, lost one, as thou art,

Before the world's profane desire

Had warm'd thine eye and chill'd thy heart.

\* In a note on the words "Ad Christi contendit altaria," in the Treatise of St. Ambrose De Mysteriis, there is a description given, by the Benedictine Editor, of some of the forms usual, in the time of that Father, on the admission of the young neophytes into the sanctuary, to receive the sacrament. In describing their procession from the baptistery to the altar, bearing each a lighted taper in his hand (as is the manner of the Catholic

Recal their looks, so brightly calm,  
 Around the lighted shrine at even\*,  
 When, mingling in the vesper psalm,  
 Thy spirit seem'd to sigh for heaven.

Remember, too, the tranquil sleep,  
 That o'er thy lonely pillow stole,  
 While thou hast pray'd that God would keep  
 From every harm thy virgin soul.

Church, to this day) he makes mention also of the young maidens who had lately been professed and who likewise formed a part of this innocent train:—"Si quæ puellæ virginitatem in Paschatio festo essent professæ, ipsæ etiam inter hos innocentes greges deducebantur."

Those who have been taught to consider Nuns as among the creations of modern Popery, will see, from all this, that such dedication of young virgins to God was customary in the high and palmy age of the Christian Church. Even the run-away nun whom Luther married might have found some precedent for her *escapade* in those good old times, as we read, in one of St. Jerom's Epistles (xciii.) of an attempt to carry off a nun from a convent.

\* St. Basil represents the virgins as dancing round the altar:—*μνησθητι ταυτων και αγγελικης περι τον θσον μετ' εκεινων χορσιας*. Such sacred dances, in imitation of those of the Hebrews, were permitted, on great festivals, among the early Christians, and the Bishops and dignified Clergy (as we are told by Scaliger) used to join in them.

Where is it now—that innocent  
 And happy time, where is it gone?  
 Those light repasts, where young Content  
 And Temperance stood smiling on;

The maiden step, the seemly dress,  
 In which thou went'st along, so meek;  
 The blush that, at a look, or less,  
 Came o'er the paleness of thy cheek;

Alas, alas, that paleness too\*,  
 That bloodless purity of brow,  
 More touching than the rosiest hue  
 On Beauty's cheek—where is it now?

From one of the Homilies of St. Chrysostom who, it is known, particularly distinguished himself by his severe strictures on the gay dresses of the Constantinopolitan ladies †, the following specimen of his style of rebuke, on such subjects, is selected.

\* My young friend's translation here falls short, I must say, of the beauty of the original:—*Ὁ χροστὴς καὶ πασῆς εὐχρησίας χαριστικὸν ἐπιλαμπούσα.*

† One of the persecutions raised against him was headed, we are told, by three widows, who “could not forgive (says Gibbon) a preacher who reproached their

Why come ye to the place of prayer,  
 With jewels in your braided hair?  
 And wherefore is the House of God  
 By glittering feet profanely trod,  
 As if, vain things, ye came to keep  
 Some festival, and not to weep,—  
 Oh! prostrate weep before that Lord  
     Of earth and heaven, of life and death,  
 Who blights the fairest with a word,  
     And blasts the mightiest with a breath!

Go—'tis not thus in proud array  
 Such sinful souls should dare to pray\*.  
 Vainly to anger'd Heaven ye raise  
 Luxurious hands where diamonds blaze;  
 And she, who comes in broider'd veil  
 To weep her frailty, *still* is frail.

The same Homily also furnished me with rather a curious passage, showing how just were this Saint's notions of female beauty, and how independent of the aid of ornament was its natural power, in his eyes.

affectation of concealing, by the ornaments of dress, their age and ugliness."

\* Τι κοσμις σουτην; ουκ εστιν ταυτα ικατευουσης τα σχηματα  
 . . . . ου γαρ χρυσοφορειν την δακρυουσαν δε.—Homi!. 8,  
 in 1 Ep. ad Tim.

“ Behold,” thou say’st, “ my gown is plain,  
 My sandals are of texture rude ;  
 Is this like one whose heart is vain ?  
 Like one, who dresses to be woo’d ?”

Deceive not thus, young maid, thy heart \*,  
 For far more oft in simple gown  
 Doth Beauty play the tempter’s part,  
 Than in brocades of rich renown ;

And homeliest garb hath oft been found,  
 When typed and moulded to the shape †,  
 To deal such shafts of mischief round  
 As wisest men can scarce escape.

Poetical as was, in general, the prose style of the greater number of the Fathers, St. Gregory of Nazianzum was, I believe, the only one among those of the four first centuries, who wrote actual Poems ; and of these I extracted and translated a considerable portion for the Album of my fair friend. The

\* Μη απατα σαυτην· ενεστιν, ὅπερ εἶπην, δια τούτων μιλζωνως καλλωπιζισθαι.

† Προσπεπλασμενων τω σωματι και εκτετυπωμενων. No words could express more knowingly the perfections of a well-fitted gown.

following, however \*, in which the Saint Poet somewhat unconscionably requires, that both the eyes and lips of his young virgins should be motionless, is the only specimen from his works with which I shall here trouble the reader.

Let not those eyes, whose light forbids  
 All love unholy, ever learn to stray,  
 But safe within thy snowy lids  
 Like timid virgins in their chambers, stay †,  
 Keeping their brightness to themselves all day.

Let not those lips by man be won  
 To breathe a thought that warms thy guileless breast,  
 But, like May-buds, that fear the sun,  
 Shut up in rosy silence, ever rest,—  
 Silence, that speaks the maiden's sweet thoughts best.

---

\* From his *Ἐπιθρητικαὶ Παρθενεῖς*, or Precepts to Virgins.

† There is a pun here rather implied than expressed, which the following passage from St. Chrysostom will explain:—*Κορη προσαγορευεταὶ ὁ οφθαλμος, ἵνα ὡς ἐκείνη ὑποδύω βλεφαρων ὡς ἐν τινὶ κουβουκλειῳ ἀποκεκλειται, οὕτω καὶ ἡ παρθένος διαμεινῇ.*—Homil. 77, de Pœnitent. “The eye is called *κορη* (a young girl), in order that, as the former is curtained up by two eyelids, as in a bedchamber, even so may the maiden herself remain.”

From a letter of St. Jerome, in praise of the young widow, Blesilla,—one of those patterns of female holiness, those gems of sanctity, who formed what Prudentius calls “the neck-lace of the Church,”—the following passage is paraphrased\*:

She sleeps among the pure and blest,  
 But here, upon her tomb, I swear,  
 That, while a spirit thrills this breast,  
 Her worth shall be remember'd there.

My tongue shall never hope to charm,  
 Unless it breathes Blesilla's name ;  
 My fancy ne'er shall shine so warm,  
 As when it lights Blesilla's fame.

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\* The whole passage is so much more eloquent and vigorous in the original, that I must, in justice, give it here:—“*Dum spiritus nos reget artus, dum vitæ hujus frui-  
 mur com meatu, spondeo, promitto, polliceor, illam  
 mea resonabit lingua, illi mei dedicabuntur labores, illi  
 sudabit ingenium. Nulla erit pagina, quæ non Blesil-  
 lam resonet ; quocunque sermonis nostri monumenta per-  
 venerint, illa cum meis opusculis peregrinabitur. Hanc  
 meâ mente defixam legent virgines, viduæ, monachi, sa-  
 cerdotes, et breve vitæ spatium æternâ memoriâ compen-  
 sabit . . . . . nunquam in meis moritura est libris.*”

On her, where'er my pages fly,  
 My pages still shall life confer,  
 And every wise and brilliant eye  
 That studies me shall weep for her;

For her the widow's tears shall fall,  
 In sympathy of wedded love;  
 And her shall holy maidens call  
 The brightest of their saints above.

Throughout all time, the priest, the sage,  
 The cloister'd nun, the hermit hoary,  
 Shall read, and reading bless the page  
 That wafts Blesilla's name to glory.

One more versified extract from a Treatise of St. Basil, and I shall then have done with Miss \* \*'s saintly Album. So warm a tribute to the beauties and allurements of woman, from a pen so grave as that of the eloquent Bishop of Cæsarea, may well be found startling;—and the translation, I must say, in point of ardour, does but faint justice to the original. In fairness, however, it should be premised, that the authenticity of the work from which this extract is taken has been questioned, and that, among others, the Saint's learned biographer, Hermant, doubts its genuineness.



There shines an all-pervading grace,  
 A charm, diffused through every part  
 Of perfect woman's form and face,  
 That steals, like light, into man's heart.

Her look is to his eyes a beam  
 Of loveliness that never sets ;  
 Her voice is to his ear a dream  
 Of melody it ne'er forgets :

Alike in motion or repose,  
 Awake or slumbering, sure to win,  
 Her form, a vase transparent, shows  
 The spirit's light enshrined within.

Nor charming only when she talks\* ,  
 Her very silence speaks and shines ;  
 Love gilds her pathway when she walks,  
 And lights her couch when she reclines.

Let her, in short, do what she will,  
 'Tis something for which man must woo her ;  
 So powerful is that magnet still  
 Which draws all souls and senses to her.

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\* Και ου λαλουσα γυνη μονον και ὄρωσα, αλλα και καθημενη  
 πως και βαδιζουσα, δια την ενουσαν κατα του αρεινος αυτης φυσικη  
 κην δυνατειαν, ὡς σιδηρος, φημι, πορωθεν μαγνητις, τουτο προς  
 ιαυτην μαγγανειει.—*De verâ Virginitate.*

## CHAPTER IV.

Difficulties of my present position.—Lord Farnham's Protestants.—Ballinasloe Christians.—Pious letter from Miss \* \*.—Suggests that I should go to Germany.—Resolution to take her advice

THE position in which I now found myself was not a little embarrassing. By this unlucky correspondence, in which I had been, for some months, engaged, and which—being, on my side, a mere indulgence of fancy, at the least possible cost of reality or feeling,—might have gone on thus, under the fostering influence of absence, for ever, I had not only deluded my mature friend, Miss \* \*, into the fond certainty that I was in love with her, but had even, by dint of fine sentences, which, “like chariot-wheels, kindled as they ran,” brought myself, in some slight degree, to indulge in the same delusion. While between the lady and me, too, this ideal approximation was taking place, that unlucky

Protestantism which was to form the indispensable basis of our union, seemed farther off from me than ever ; and, had a vacancy occurred in the Rectory of Ballymudragget, at this moment, the unprovided state in which it would have found me, in the important article of religion, would have been perplexing in the extreme.

In addition to the repugnance I could not but feel to the adoption of a new creed, from the conviction forced upon me, at every step of my inquiries upon the subject, that in the Catholic Church alone was to be found genuine Christianity, there had been also a ridicule, at this time, brought upon all conversions to Protestantism, by the utter failure of a late saintly farce, called the Second Irish Reformation, to which, in no possible circumstances, could I have had the courage to expose myself. The wretched absurdity of that last effort of Protestant Ascendancy, —the parade made about a few scores of hungry Papists, who consented to become Protestants on the same terms on which

Mungo consents to tell truth, "What you give me, Massa?"—and, finally, the unceremonious speed with which all these Ballinasloe Christians\* relapsed, laughing in their sleeves, into Popery and Idolatry,—the whole of this grave farce will long be remembered, to the signalization of my Lord Farnham's wisdom, and the no less honour and glory of the Reverend wise-acres of the British Critic, who sounded the ram's-horns of triumph in his pious Lordship's rear.

To the fear of, by *any* chance, being mistaken for one of Lord Farnham's Protestants, I was myself, perhaps, more peculiarly alive, from a consciousness, but too well founded,

\* They who are amused with such foolery cannot do better than turn to the numbers of the British Critic for that period (towards the latter end of 1827), where they may trace the whole ludicrous course of this New Light mummery from the first triumphant announcements of the advance of "the Reformation" through the benighted regions of Ballinasloe, Loughrea and Ahascrah, till, "coming in contact," as these gentlemen express it, "with the darkness of the land in Sligo," its evangelical light began to wax fainter and fainter, and at last, in the aptly-named district of Kilmummery, expired!

alas ! that, between the poor wretches who exchanged their faith for “ the Friday’s bacon,” and myself, who was about to barter it for the rich rectory of Ballymudragget, the *amount* of the bribe constituted the whole and sole difference. Feeling, however, that I was bound, in courtesy, to communicate to my fair correspondent some little insight into the real state of my mind, on the subject, I ventured to intimate to her, in one of my letters, that the impression left on my mind by the perusal of the Fathers was, I grieved to say, not quite so favourable to the cause of Protestantism as, in her zeal for my speedy conversion, she might desire; and that a yet further course of time and study would be requisite, before those scruples which I entertained, as to the adoption of a new faith, could be removed.

The lady’s answer to this was in her accustomed textuary style. After declaring pathetically that she had, as I could well conceive, “ *wearied* the Lord with her words,” (Malachi, ii. 17,) in my behalf, and assuring

me of her unceasing anxiety, night and day, to pluck that "dear firebrand" (as she tenderly and scripturally called my soul) out of the fire, she proceeded to say that, from the very first, she had felt serious apprehensions that in seeking "the word of the Holy One" (Isa. v. 24) among the Fathers, I was but trying to "gather grapes of thorns, and figs of thistles" (Matt. vii. 16). The only acquaintance she herself had ever formed among the Fathers was at the table, as she reminded me, of my own family, where it had been her fortune, on more than one occasion, to meet the Reverends Father O'Toole and Father M'Loughlin; and the less, in her opinion, that was said of *such* Fathers of the Church, the better.

After a little more of this display of learning, respecting the Fathers, Miss \* \* continued to say that, were she to speak her own desire, on the subject, it would be, that I should, for a time, "separate from that filthiness of the heathen" (Ezra, vi. 21) with which my family connexions would, as long as I tar-

ried in the land, be sure to compass me; and sorely as it would afflict her, even for a brief space, to lose me, yet so anxious was she that “the soul of her turtle (meaning *me*) should not be delivered unto the wicked” (Psalm lxxiv. 19)—so strong was her desire to “cause mine iniquity to pass from me and clothe me with a change of raiment” (Zech. iii. 4), that, until the arrival of that happy moment when we were to “cleave one to another” (Daniel, ii. 43), she counselled earnestly that I should betake myself unto some “land of uprightness” (Psalm cxliii. 10)—even the land of Luther, or of the immortal Calvin,—and there, out of the reach of the “Mother of Harlots” (Rev. xvii. 5) continue to “nourish myself up in the words of faith and of good doctrine” (1 Tim. iv. 6), so as to become worthy, at last, of that “fat portion” (Hab. i. 16) which was in store for me, and which should be “rendered double unto me, as unto the prisoners of hope” (Zech. x. 12),—namely, herself and Ballymudragget.

In a postscript to this piece of scriptural patch-work, the fair writer added that, in the event of my going abroad, she meant to commission me to procure for her a copy of that edifying book, Luther's Table Talk\*; and would, at the same time, recommend to me, for my own particular edification, a pious foreign work, called Pastor Fido†, written by

\* This "edifying book" of Luther contains the conversations of the jovial Reformer over his cups, as reported by Rebenstok, one of his most attached disciples, and published, after his death, with cruel kindness by his friends. Great efforts were, of course, made to discredit the authenticity of this work,—but without success. The zealous Dutch divine, Voet, allowed its genuineness, and even the Reformer's partial historian, Seckendorf, could do no more than lament the imprudence of the friends who published it. The ribaldry, indeed, with which this book, in its original state, abounded, might well awaken, in those who were solicitous about the Reformer's fame, deep regret at its publication.

† In this mistake respecting the Pastor Fido the lady was not singular; for, already had the poet Guarini, from the same misapprehension, been placed in the rank of ecclesiastical writers by Aubert le Mire.—*See Querelles Littéraires, Tom. i.*



one Guarini, and accounted, as she understood, one of the best possible manuals for the instruction of young Protestant divines in those duties which, as faithful Pastors, they were to perform towards their flocks.

Whatever may be thought of this last learned suggestion the project hinted to me by my fair converter of a visit to the land of Luther,—the birth-place of the Reformation,—the boasted well-spring of the thousand and one streams of Protestantism,—flashed like a ray of new-born light across my fancy. “To Germany!—yes, to Germany will I assuredly go,” exclaimed I, once more striding Protestantly through my two-pair-stair chamber, and marvelling that so compendious a mode of attaining my object had never before occurred to me. In the excitement of the vague hope that now opened upon me, added to the exhilarating prospect of foreign travel and adventure, the whole course of my late studies was, at once, lost sight of and forgotten. Fathers, Councils, Primitive Church, all receded into the back-ground, and already

did I begin, in the true pride of a Reformed spirit, to persuade myself that every thing which had passed during the first fifteen hundred years of Christianity was but an idle dream, and that not till the *year* of our Lord 1530\* did the *Gospel* of our Lord come purely and evangelically into operation.

\* The year in which the Augsburg Confession of Faith was drawn up by Luther and Melancthon.

## CHAPTER V.

The Apostolic antiquity of the Catholic doctrines allowed by Protestants themselves.—Proofs:—from the writings of the Reformers, Luther, Melancthon, &c.—from later Protestants, Casaubon, Scaliger, &c.—from Socinus and Gibbon.

IN the fit of delirium which, at the close of the preceding chapter, I have described, I was, in fact, but jumping to a conclusion into which all thinking Protestants who have examined fairly into the history of primitive Christianity, and yet are satisfied with their own religion, must deliberately have settled. By their manual, the Book of Homilies, they are informed that, for more than eight hundred years previous to the Reformation, the whole of Christendom lay drowned in all the darkness of Popery; and a fair inquiry into the writers of the early Church must have convinced them that the same religion which existed during the eight hundred years specified in the Homilies

had also flourished through all the preceding centuries, up to the first birth-hour of the Church. They have, therefore, no other alternative left them than the conclusion to which, in my delirium, I came,—that, until the year of our Lord 1530, the Gospel of our Lord had never been truly promulgated; and that, accordingly, his Church, that only visible Church of Christ on earth, to which God himself so solemnly declared, “Lo, I am with you alway to the end of time,” had yet been suffered by him, for a space of more than fifteen hundred years, to lie drowned, as the Homily tells us, in “abominable idolatry,”—the vice “most detested of God and most damnable to man!”

The position, indeed, which it has been my chief aim to establish in these pages,—namely, that the doctrines and observances taught by the Catholics of the first ages were the same as those professed and practised by the Catholics of the present,—has long, I find, by all dispassionate inquirers, even among Protestants themselves, been virtually, and,

in most instances, expressly acknowledged; and had this important admission been somewhat earlier known to me, it might have spared both my reader and myself the infliction of some heavy reading.

It is true, that at the period of the Reformation, and for some time after, when it was naturally an object with those who originated such violent changes to invest them, as far as they could, with some semblance of authority, both the ingenuity and the effrontery of the innovators were exerted to press the sanction of the ancient Fathers into the service of their new enterprise. But the avowals of some of the most eminent among the Reformers themselves showed how conscious they were of the hollowness of their pretensions to such authority. The deep concern with which the considerate and conscientious Melancthon viewed each successive deviation from the ancient standard of the Faith is frequently and with much earnestness expressed in some of his letters. Thus, in a letter cited by Hospinian, he says—"It is not safe thus to depart from

the general opinion of the ancient Church \*;” and, in another place, “it is, in my judgment, great rashness thus to spread abroad doctrines without consulting the Primitive Church †.”

From Luther’s own confessions, it is well known how long and anxiously he struggled to get over the testimonies, in favour of the Real Presence, which he found both in the text of Scripture and in the writings of the Fathers; and with what exceeding reluctance he, at last, retained a doctrine which it would have been so decidedly, as he felt, for the interests of his cause to repudiate. In a letter to his followers at Strasbourg, he declares the pleasure which it would afford him could they suggest to his mind some good grounds for denying the Real Presence, as nothing could be of more service to him in his designs against the Papacy ‡.

So admitted is this struggle of Luther’s

\* “Neque verò tutum est à communi sententiâ veteris Ecclesiæ discedere.”

† “Meo quidem iudicio magna est temeritas dogmata serere inconsultâ Ecclesiâ veteri.”

‡ *Epist. ad Argentin.*

conscience, upon the subject of the Eucharist, that Bayle deduces from it an ingenious argument in favour of toleration, on the ground that the most erroneous opinions may, as in this case, be the result of the most sincere and anxious search after truth. "Who does not know," says Bayle, "that Luther was passionately desirous not to believe in the Real Presence, persuading himself that so long as he should continue in that belief, he would thereby be deprived of one great advantage towards the object he had in view of destroying Popery. His wishes, however, though founded upon what he believed to be strongly his interest, were unavailing. He was not able, though endeavouring with all his might, to discover that figurative sense which to us is so visible, in the words of Christ, "This is my body\*."

With little less throes of conscience did another Reformer, Œcolampadius, succeed in surmounting the testimonies of the ancient

\* *Supplément du Commentaire Philosophique, Œuvres, Tom. 2.*

Fathers, on the same point; nor was it till he had made up his mind to renounce their authority altogether,—“*semotâ hominum auctoritate\**,”—that he could bring himself to adopt the Sacramentarian doctrine.

Were we to collect, indeed, the different Catholic doctrines of which some one or other of the Reformers themselves acknowledged the antiquity, we should find almost the whole of their own new system of belief surrendered by them in detail. Thus the antiquity of the doctrine of a Corporal Presence was maintained by Luther against Calvin and Zwingli†; and Melancthon even expressed himself respecting that mystery “in the very strongest terms (says

\* Lavater.

† This did not, of course, escape the observation of some among their own followers. For instance, Dudith (who is said to have ended his own course in Socinianism) thus asks of Beza, in one of his letters to him, “On what dogma do those who have declared war against the Pope agree among themselves? If you take the trouble to look over all the articles, from the first to the last, you will not find one that is not admitted by some, and condemned by others.”



Mosheim's Commentator) that the Roman Catholics use to express the monstrous doctrine of Transubstantiation; adopting those remarkable words of Theophylact, 'the bread was not a figure only, but was truly changed into flesh.'"

The Centuriators of Magdeburgh admit, reluctantly and angrily, the antiquity of the Sacrificial Offering. Prayers for the Dead were acknowledged by Calvin to have been an ancient and pious usage\*: and the Lutherans not only conceded this point in the Defence of the Confession of Augsburg, but professed their dissent, in the same document, from the opinion of the heretic Aerius, who maintained, in the fourth century, that Prayers for the Dead were useless.

While Calvin rejected this usage, which he yet allowed to be of high antiquity, he, on the other hand, confessed, or rather boasted, that his system of Election and Grace was wholly unknown to all the Fathers of the four first

\* *Vetustis ecclesiæ scriptoribus pium esse visum suffragari pro Mortuis.*

centuries\* ; and Melancthon, with all his reverence for the authority of the early Church, could yet,—hurried away, like the rest, by a factious spirit of Reform,—adopt new-fangled doctrines such as that of Imputed Justice, wholly unknown, as he himself allowed, to the ancient Christians †.

By Luther the use of Images and of the sign of the Cross ‡, as well as Confession and the Sacrament of Absolution were retained ; while Melancthon, Bucer, and other high au-

\* *Instit. Lib. 2. c. 2.*—By Gomarus and other such followers of Calvin it is even admitted that the doctrines of their master, as explained by them, are not to be found in the Gospel.

† See one of his Letters (*Lib. 3. Ep. 126.*) in which he acknowledges that he could find nothing like this doctrine among the Fathers.

‡ “ The Father of the Reformation, Luther, (says De Starck) wrote, that, on getting out of bed in the morning, one ought to sign oneself with the Holy Cross.”

A learned and famous Lutheran, Gerhard, has even so far racked his wits in defence of this sign, as to produce the following strained authority for its use.—“ The patriarch Jacob, laying his hands upon his grandsons, Ephraim and Manasseh, cross-wise, formed, as it were a Cross, and so admonished them concerning the cross of Christ.”—*Loci Theolog. T. 4. de Baptism.*

thorities of the Reformation, acknowledged the antiquity and importance of the Supremacy of the Roman See. The proofs of this latter concession are numerous. Thus Melancthon says:—"There is no dispute on the superiority of the Pope, and the authority of bishops; the Pope, as well as they, may keep this authority."—Again, "The monarchy of the Pope would also contribute much to preserve the unity of doctrine among different nations; if other points could be settled, we should soon agree respecting the supremacy of the Pope\*. Bucer, too, who was invited to

\* *Resp. ad Bel.*—This opinion of Melancthon is thus referred to by the illustrious Grotius, who was himself a strong advocate for the Primacy of the Roman See, as the only means of preserving unity in the general Church of Christ. "Ideo optat (Grotius) ut ea divulsio quæ evenit, et causæ divulsionis tollantur. Inter eas causas non est Primatus Episcopi Romani, secundum Canones, fatente Melancthone, qui eum Primatum etiam necessarium putat ad retinendam unitatem." With Grotius, too, may be associated, as another authority in favour of the Primacy of Rome, the no less illustrious name of the philosopher Leibnitz. See his *Systema Theologicum*.

In a yet more recent Protestant writer than any here

England by Cranmer, to assist in forming the Anglican Church, writes thus strongly on the same point :—“ We confess that, in the opinion of the ancient Fathers, the Roman Church did hold the Primacy, having the Chair of Peter, and that her bishops have been accounted his successors\*.” But the most striking testimony on this point, because wrung from him by the confusion he saw around him, is that of the Reformer Capito :—“ The authority of the clergy (he says, in a letter to Farel) is entirely abolished. All is lost,—all is going to ruin. . . . . God now makes me feel what it is to be a Pastor,

referred to,—the Baron Senkenberg, Professor of Law in the Universities of Gottingen and Giesen, and Aulic Counsellor, &c., under the Emperor Francis I.—we find the following strong opinion on the same subject :—“ It is right that there should be a system of government among Christians, and it is right that there should be a head to preside over it; and none else can be more qualified for this office than the Vicar of Jesus Christ, the representative of the Blessed Peter through an uninterrupted succession.” *Method. Jurisprud. 4, de libertate Ecclesie German.*

\* *Prop. ad Conc.*

and what mischief we have done to the Church by the rash judgment, the inconsiderate vehemence with which we rejected the Pope \*.”

At a somewhat later period, we find the learned Protestant, Casaubon, lamenting over those deviations from the ancient faith into which the violence of the Reformation was, he saw, betraying its followers. In writing to his friend Uittenbogardt, who had, in a conference held between them, endeavoured to relieve his mind from some apprehensions on this head, he says:—“ Why should I conceal from you that this so great departure from the faith of the ancient Church not a little disturbs me † ?”—and, in the same letter, after remarking that, on the subject of the Sacraments, Luther differed from the ancients, Zuinglius from Luther, Calvin from both, and others from Calvin, he adds, “ If we go on in this way, what will at last be the end

\* *Ep. ad Farel. inter Ep. Calv.*

† *Mene quid dissimulem hæc tanta diversitas à fide veteris Ecclesiæ non parum turbat?*

of it \*?'' By Scaliger, too, another eminent scholar, and a mature convert to Protestantism, it is, without reserve, admitted that, on the important subject of the Lord's Supper, we should in vain endeavour to prove the Reformed doctrine from the Fathers †.

While these and a number of other such enlightened Protestants have thus candidly acknowledged,—what, indeed, only the party-spirit of sectarianism could deny,—that the weight of ancient authority is all on the side of the Church of Rome, the Socinians, who, from being independent of such authority themselves, could the better, of course, afford to be candid on the subject, have in general been found to agree in the same important admission. In the well-known controversy respecting the Eucharist between Smalcius and Franzius, the Racovian pastor gave up freely to his Lutheran antagonist all the Fathers of the fourth century, as staunch

\* Si sic pergimus, quis tandem erit exitus?

† Non est quod conemur ex Patribus hunc articulum demonstrare de Cænâ. *Scaligerana.*

Transubstantiationists. And Socinus himself declared that, if the Fathers are to be made umpires between the disputants, the Church of Rome cannot fail to win an easy triumph.

It is by those, indeed, who are not in communion with either of the contending parties, that the question between them has the best chance of being disinterestedly decided; and, on this principle, the testimony of Gibbon may be thrown into the same scale with that of Socinus,—the infidel, no less than the heresiarch, having professed his inability “to withstand the weight of historical evidence that, within the first four or five centuries of Christianity, most of the leading doctrines of Popery were already introduced, in theory and practice\*.”

\* *Posthumous Memoirs.*

## CHAPTER VI.

French Calvinists.—The Fathers held in contempt by the English Calvinists.—Policy of the Church of England Divines.—Bishop Jewel.—Dr. Waterland.

SOME strenuous efforts were, it is known, made by the French Calvinist, Claude, to prove that, on the subject of the Eucharist, the Fathers of the first ages were in perfect accordance with the doctrine of the Reformed Church\*. Far the greater number, however, of Calvinists, both of France and England, held the authority of these venerable teachers in the most sovereign contempt†. “Relying,” says the Protestant Casaubon,

\* The utter failure, notwithstanding his learning and ability, of the French controvertist, Claude,—particularly in his unlucky appeal to the Eastern Churches against the doctrine of transubstantiation,—left a clear field, on this subject, to M. Arnaud and his brother champions.

† One of the sources of Calvin’s contempt for the Fathers is to be found, perhaps, in his ignorance of them :—



“ on the authority and reputation of one individual (Calvin) who was truly a very great man, though not free from liability to error, these persons cannot endure the bare mention of the names of those Holy Fathers whose most felicitous services the immortal God was pleased formerly to employ : . . . . . but whom these writers wish to represent as half heathens, unskilled in the Scriptures, silly, foolish, stupid and impious persons. It is on this account they attack the errors of the Papists in such a manner *as very*

“ Calvin (says Longerue) avoit lu S. Augustin et S. Thomas ; mais il n'avoit pas lu les autres Pères.”

In a satire against the Calvinists, by Bishop Womack, called “ The Examination of Tilenus,” the propensity of that sect to depreciate the Fathers is thus ridiculed from the lips of one of the Examiners :—“ The man hath a competent measure of your ordinary, unsanctified learning. But you may see he hath studied the Ancient Fathers, more than our modern divines, such as Mr. Calvin and Mr. Perkins. And, alas! they [the ancient Fathers] threw away their enjoyments,—and their lives, too, some of them,—for they knew not what. They understood little or nothing of the Divine Decrees, or the power of grace and godliness : this great light was reserved for the honour of after-ages.”

*frequently to inflict, through their sides, a mortal wound on the ancient Church\*.”*

The same contempt for the early Fathers, as authorities in doctrine, prevailed, at the same period, among the high Calvinistic party in England; and the following passage from a work of the famous Archbishop Bancroft, (his “Survey of the pretended Holy Discipline”) will show the lengths to which this feeling of slight towards the Church’s Ancients was carried:—“In a certain college in Cambridge when it happeneth that, in their disputations, the authority either of St. Augustine, or of St. Ambrose, or of St. Jerome, or of any other of the ancient Fathers, nay, the whole consent of them all together is alleged; it is rejected with very great disdain; as, ‘What tell you me of St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, or of the rest? I regard them not a rush.’”

While thus the Calvinists of England, in the true spirit of their master, made light of and even disdained the authority of the Fa-

\* Letter to Daniel Heinsius, 1610.

thers, a far different course of policy led the High-Church Divines, not only to profess the highest feelings of reverence for those writers, but to endeavour to extort, by all means, from their pages some sanction for their own Protestant doctrines. With that sort of rash vaporing which was to be expected from the craven spirit he had already displayed, Bishop Jewel went so far as to challenge publicly, all the Catholics in the world to produce a single clear testimony from the writings of the Fathers in support of any of those tenets on which the Protestants differed from them\*. But the only effect

\* The passage of the Paul's Cross sermon in which this rash challenge is enounced may be considered, in one respect, valuable, inasmuch as it acknowledges most fully the authority of that concurrent Rule of Faith,—concurrent with and illustrative of the written Word of God,—which the Catholics derive from their old Doctors and Councils, and from the traditions and examples of the early days of their Church. Thus begins the challenge of the Bishop: —“If any man alive were able to prove any of these articles, by any one clear or plain clause or sentence, either of the Scriptures or of the old Doctors, or of any old General Council, or by any example of the Primitive Church,” &c. &c.

of this absurd vaunt was, as the Bishop's biographer, Humphrey, confesses, to "give scope to the Papists" and do injury to the cause it was meant to benefit.

For a long period, however, did this effort, on the part of the Church of England divines, to enlist antiquity on the side of their schism, continue, with more or less zeal, to be carried on; and upon all occasions do we find them appealing, with the utmost reverence, to the Fathers,—though having, at the same time, the avowal of the ever candid Chillingworth before their eyes, that it was the opposition which he himself remarked between the doctrines of the Fathers and those of Protestantism that formed one of his leading motives for embracing the Romish faith; or, as he himself states his reason, "*Because the doctrine of the Church of Rome is conformable, and the doctrine of Protestants contrary to the doctrine of the Fathers, by the confession of Protestants themselves.*"

It has been thought by some that this professed deference of the divines of that period for the authority of writers whose every page

breathes rebuke to Protestantism, is to be accounted for by the evident leaning towards Popery which the reigns of the two first Stuarts betrayed; and there is no doubt that this circumstance, combined with the aid derived from the testimony of the Fathers, in those contests respecting Church government in which they were engaged with the Puritans, had considerable share in moving the High-Church divines to this otherwise so anomalous a coalition. But there was, also, another cause, of at least equal importance, to which this feature in the policy of the Church of England is to be assigned.

I have before remarked that those Fathers who upheld most strenuously the doctrine of Transubstantiation, (as well as every other doctrine classed under the head of Popish errors,) were also those who most distinguished themselves by maintaining the dogma of the Trinity in its purest, most amply developed, and "bright, consummate" form. To secure the aid of such witnesses, at a time when the spirit of Anti-Trinitarianism was abroad, in

defence of a mystery, which the Reformation itself had spared, but which seemed in danger of falling before some of its progeny, was thought to be an acquisition well worth some sacrifice of sincerity; and, for the sake of profiting thus by the testimony of the Fathers on one of the few doctrines common to both parties, the Protestant divines either wilfully shut their eyes to the wide diversity, on other points, between them, or else endeavoured to evade these differences by glosses and explanations, of whose utter futility and deceptiveness it is impossible that they should not themselves have been aware.

Of this very intelligible course of policy we find a striking exemplification in the labours of one of the most eminent of these divines, Dr. Waterland. Hence was it, that, in his exceeding zeal for the triumph of Trinitarianism, he was induced to uphold, with so high a hand, the authority of the Fathers,—denominating the Three first centuries “the golden age of the Church,” and even inclining, for the honour and glory of his idol, Atha-

nasius, to extend that laudatory distinction so far down as the Fourth\*. Hence, rather than risk the consequences of the impolitic admission that allies so useful to the cause of orthodoxy, on *one* great point of Christianity, were, on every other, no better than unreformed Papists, he thought himself bound to endeavour to prove that, on the equally vital doctrine of the Eucharist, the opinions held by these ancient teachers were no less in accordance with those maintained by the divines of the Established Church.

The work, in which the learned Doctor has attempted this task I have already had occasion to refer to, and shall here only add that, for vague and forced interpretation, for unavailing struggles against the stream of testimony, and the betrayal of conscious weak-

\* Whiston, on the other hand, whose controversial interest drew him in quite an opposite direction, makes the power of performing miracles stop at Athanasius, giving as his reason, that "the forgeries of Athanasius, by their prevalence in the Church, provoked God to withdraw his miraculous powers!"

ness under an assumed aspect of strength, it is, considering the acknowledged talents and erudition of the writer, unexampled, perhaps, in the whole annals of theological controversy.



## CHAPTER VII.

Pretended reverence of the English divines for the Fathers unmasked.—Dr. Whitby's attack on the Fathers: followed by Middleton.—Early Christians proved by Middleton to have been Papists.—Reflections.—Departure for Hamburg.

It was not possible that such a system of evasion and casuistry as I have, in the last chapter, described should be carried on much longer; and the first great breach made in it was by the honest, however mistaken, Dr. Whitby, in his work “concerning the interpretation of Scripture after the manner of the Fathers.” In this Dissertation, which the translator of Mosheim\* represents as “the

\* The usual consequences of such bold speculations were, indeed, exemplified in the case of Whitby himself, who, in a posthumous work entitled “the Last Thoughts of Dr. Whitby,” thus expresses himself respecting the Trinity:—“An exact scrutiny into things doth often produce conviction that those things which we once judged to be right were, after a more diligent inquiry into the truth, found to be wrong; and truly I am not ashamed to

forerunner of the many remarkable attempts that were afterwards made *to deliver the right of private judgment, in matters of religion, from the restraints of human authority,*" the evidence of the Fathers, on points of faith, is set aside with a degree of unceremonious freedom, which even the advocate for the right of private judgment, just cited, allows to have been unwise and unsafe.

But, rash as it was, this assault by Whitby was but the forerunner of outbreaks still rasher. The same Church which had produced a Jewel and a Waterland was sure, in the natural course of reaction, to produce also a Middleton. Impatient of such hollow

say, this is my case. For when I wrote my Commentaries on the New Testament, I went on (too hastily, I own) in the common beaten road of other reputed orthodox divines, conceiving that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in one complex notion, were one and the same God, by virtue of the same individual essence communicated from the Father. This confused notion, I am now fully convinced, by the arguments I have offered here, and in the second part of my reply to Dr. Waterland, to be a thing impossible and full of gross absurdities and contradictions."

pretensions to the sanction of antiquity, nor much scrupling, in his attacks upon what he deemed to be Superstition, how far Religion herself might be endangered by the onset, this divine brushed away boldly all that film of mock reverence which his brethren had been so long weaving round the memory of the Fathers, and at once held up these ancient teachers not only as Papists, in doctrine, but, (his main object being, at all risks, to vilify Roman Catholicism\*), as Papists of the most superstitious and drivelling description.

In utter defiance, too, of the deductions which might be drawn from such a theory, Middleton hesitated not to reverse the ordinary view of the subject, and, by asserting the first ages of the Church to have been the *least* pure, risked, heedless of all con-

\* This object he by no means scruples to avow. "Whereas Popish Christianity (he says) which possesses much the largest share of the Christian world *would be undone at once* if the authority of the Primitive Fathers and primitive miracles should be rejected in common by all Christians." *Remarks on Observations, &c.* Vol. 2.

sequences\*, the startling conclusion, that the fountain of the Christian's faith was most cor-

\* Some of those consequences are thus significantly shadowed out by one of his opponents :—" The author must either renounce his argument or the Gospel.—Those who believe the Fathers of the second and third centuries to be more credulous than those of the fourth, may fancy the Apostles, to have been the most credulous of them all.—If the world was so credulous immediately after the Apostles, it will not be easy to comprehend how it should have been much less so in the Apostles' times :—the author's charge, indeed, stops with the Fathers, but his arguments do not stop there ; for if the Fathers can be proved to have been forgers of lies, the consequences may go a great way."

A friend and correspondent of Middleton, the Archdeacon of Carlisle, seems to have been fully as little aware, or as reckless, of the obvious consequences of depreciating these early teachers as was Middleton himself. " Christianity (says this wise divine) was in its infancy, at most in its childhood, when these men wrote, and therefore it is no wonder that they spake as children, that they understood as children, that they thought as children." In another place, the Archdeacon, under an evident feeling of impatience at the testimony which the Fathers bear to the truth of what are called Popish doctrines, exclaims—" Let me not be censured though I should be so bold as to say, that we should have understood the Scriptures much better if we had not had the writings of the Fathers !"

rupt near its source. In this reckless paradox, however, was conveyed an undesigned tribute to the antiquity of the Catholic Church; since identifying, as he did, all superstition and error with Popery, it is plain that, in pronouncing the first ages of Christianity to have been the *least* pure, he had no other meaning in his mind than that they were the *most* Popish.

How unreservedly, indeed, Dr. Middleton let out the whole of that inconvenient fact, which it had been so long the policy of his brother Divines to keep veiled in the background,—namely, that Primitive Christianity was neither more nor less than Modern Popery, —will appear from some Remarks of his upon a Catechism professing to be by a Protestant, and giving an account of the chief articles of belief of the early Church:—“ We may now see (he says) from a clear deduction of facts and circumstances, as they are set forth in this piece, *how directly the authority of the Primitive Fathers tends to lead us into the Church of Rome* ; we see it ascribing a supreme and in-

dependent power to the Church, asserting the Popish Sacraments, a propitiatory sacrifice of Christ's body and blood, both for the living and the dead; Prayers for the Dead, to procure some relief and improvement of their intermediate state; Exorcisms, Chrisms, Consecrated Oil, Sign of the Cross, Penances, Confessions to a Priest, Absolutions, Relics of Saints, &c. &c."

This rash sally from the sanctuary\*, whatever mischiefs it may otherwise have occasioned, by giving the signal, as it were, from the Church top, to all sceptics and infidels for a general assault on the earliest witnesses of the Christian faith was, in one respect, at least, productive of good by putting to shame all that pretended deference to the Fathers which it had been so long the policy of the Divines of the Church of England to adopt. Their manifest object in this was to produce an impression, among all who knew no better, that those ancient teachers of Christianity

\* "Dr. Middleton (says the Norrisian Professor, Hey), does not seem to fall far short of Mr. Hume on Miracles."

lent a sanction to the Reformed doctrines. By the imprudence of Middleton, however, this instrument of delusion was rendered powerless in their hands\* ; for, however

\* In the following passage from one of the Lectures of Dr. Hey, we find the motives of *both* the parties, in these two opposite views of the Fathers, pretty fairly stated :—“ Those who defend the pretensions of the Fathers do it *through fear* lest, if they should appear indefensible, the cause of Christianity should suffer by the condemnation of its early propagators. Those who accuse the Fathers of superstition, weakness, or falsehood, consider what indelible disgrace they shall bring upon Popery by showing the impurity of *the source from which all its distinguishing doctrines have taken their rise.*”

With respect to the accusations, here mentioned, against the Fathers, of “ superstition, weakness, &c.” they are the same that have, for centuries, been brought forward against the religion which glories in having followed them ; and the best answer to all such attacks on the early teachers of Christianity is to be found in those wise and sarcastic words which I have once before quoted from Lardner :—“ Poor ignorant primitive Christians, I wonder how they could find the way to heaven. *They lived near the times of Christ and his Apostles. They highly valued and diligently read the Holy Scriptures, and some of them wrote Commentaries upon them ; but yet it seems they knew little or nothing of their religion ! . . . .* Truly, we of these times are very happy in our orthodoxy.”

calumnious and false were, on most points, his representations of the Fathers, he had, at least, abundantly succeeded in showing that they were, in faith and practice, any thing but Protestants; and that, therefore, to refer to them as authorities for Protestant doctrines was a deception which, once well exposed, was not likely to be often, or with any success, repeated.

Accordingly we have seen that, from that period,—with the exception now and then of a Daubeny, or a Faber, who still resort to the old battered armoury for weapons,—the Church of England Divines have, with a most prudent reserve, left the Fathers, as auxiliaries, undisturbed on their shelves: and the few departures from this safe policy\*

\* The two very interesting works of Bishop Kaye, relating to St. Justin and Tertullian, are hardly to be accounted exceptions to the system of policy here noticed, as this accomplished scholar has approached his subject far more in the spirit of a Dilettante than a Divine, and treated the Fathers very much as he might the classics of a barbarous age, making their works subservient to the illustration of the peculiar customs and opinions of their



into which they have been tempted must serve, more and more, to confirm them in the advisedness of their rule. The late Bishop Tomline, for instance, in calling in the aid of the Fathers against the Calvinists, only showed how totally misapplied and perilous was their alliance in such a cause;—the very same testimonies which he thus brings to bear against the tenets of modern Calvinism being no less fatally efficient against the doctrines of the first Reformers, as well

times. How coolly his lordship deals with some matters of opinion and evidence which, in the days of the chivalry of controversy, would have made a thousand folios leap from their shelves, will appear by the following specimen. Referring to the opinions of Tertullian respecting the Eucharist, the Bishop says that this Father “speaks of ‘feeding on the fatness of the Lord’s body, that is, on the Eucharist,’ and ‘of our flesh feeding on the body and blood of Christ, in order that our soul may be fattened of God.’ These are, it must be allowed (adds the Bishop), strong expressions.” Strong, indeed!—though forming, as his lordship ought to know; but one of a countless host of such proofs that Tertullian’s doctrine of “feeding on the Lord’s body,” really and corporeally, was the universal belief of the early Christian Church.

as against the predominant spirit of the Articles of his own Church\*.

I have now satisfactorily, I trust,—though, far more at length than I had, at starting, anticipated,—succeeded in establishing the very material position which I had laid down, namely, that the antiquity claimed by the Catholics for the doctrines of their Church, or, in other words, the identity which they maintain exists between their system of belief and that which the first teachers of Christianity promulgated, has been long, by Protestants themselves, reluctantly, but still most effectively, admitted.

\* “The Evangelical Clergy (says the Bishop’s able opponent, Mr. Scott) do not contend that our Articles, Liturgy, &c. are in every tittle exactly coincident with the sentiments of Calvin; but *that they contain*, in a more unexceptionable form, *all that they deem essential in his doctrine.*”

Dr. Maclaine, too (the translator of Mosheim) says of the Ultra-Calvinist proceedings of the Synod of Dort, “Its decisions, in point of doctrine, were looked upon by many, and not without reason, as agreeable to the tenor of the Book of Articles established by law in the Church of England.”

On finding thus remarkably corroborated the conclusion to which I myself had come, that what is now called Popery was, in fact, the whole and sole faith of the primeval Christians, I know not whether the prevalent feeling in my mind was that of triumph or mortification. In the first place, had these important concessions been somewhat earlier known to me, I might have been spared all those pains of parturition which the First Volume of this work so unnecessarily cost me ;—my situation now being something like that of the famous Cardinal Sfondrati, of whose book on Predestination it was said, “*que s’il avoit commencé son ouvrage par la seconde partie, il se seroit épargné la peine de composer la première.*” In the second place, I had, I confess, flattered myself, as do the self-taught in all lines of study, that the results which I had thus lighted upon were of my own peculiar and exclusive finding out. The discovery, therefore, that so many others had arrived at exactly the same point before me, gave to my task a degree of triteness for which I was

by no means prepared, and not a little dimmed, in my eyes, the glory of my research and scholarship.

On a review of the whole, however, the effect of all these inquiries upon my mind was still further to stimulate me to the prosecution of the pursuit in which I had engaged ; my strong persuasion being that there must, after all, be something more, in the nature of the Protestant Church, than I was yet aware of, to enable her to hold her ground, even so long, as a constituent portion of the Christian world, notwithstanding her thus acknowledged defection from most of the doctrines of the early Church, as well as of that mark of the great Father of Heresies which I have shown to be branded on her brow. "In Germany," exclaimed I to myself, "if any where, I shall be sure to find her in her first, genuine shape, with all the associations, too, which such antiquity as it is in her power to boast, combined with the influences of the "Genius Loci," are able to shed around her birth-place.

After taking leave therefore, in an affec-

tionate letter, of my fair Calvinist friend, and promising faithfully to attend to her commissions respecting Luther's Table Talk and the Pastor Fido, I set out from Dublin on the twentieth of August, and staying but a few days in London, on my way, arrived at Hamburgh about the end of the month.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Hamburgh.—Hagedorn.—Klopstock and his Wife Meta.  
—Miss Anna Maria à Schurman, and her lover Labadie.—Account of them for the Tract Society.—Forwarded through the hands of Miss \* \*.

FROM a traveller starting upon a tour so purely theological in its object, the reader will hardly be prepared to expect much of that variety of observation which, in general, constitutes the chief charm of the wayfarer's narrative. With the neighbourhood of Hamburgh I found some names and recollections associated in which, as a lover of poetry, and of literature in general, I could not but feel interested. How far this city has cause to take pride for having been the birth-place of Hagedorn my entire ignorance of that Anacreontic poet's writings forbade me to judge; but of the merits of Klopstock the various translations of his writings had

enabled me to form some notion, and I accordingly visited the tomb of this famous poet with all due reverence ;—though less, I am ashamed to confess, on account of his renowned Messiah, than for the sake of the memory of his devoted and interesting wife, Meta\*.

In the mood of mind, however, into which my late studies had thrown me, neither poets, nor the fair idols of poets, had much chance of occupying any great portion of my attention ; and the only little romance I could get up, illustrative of the neighbourhood of Hamburg, had for its heroine the learned and once famed Miss Anna Maria à Schurman, a lady celebrated by the pens of Vossius, Beverovicus, and other erudite Dutch-

\* The wide difference there is between the selfish sensibility of a man of genius and the warm, devoted, unconscious generosity of a natural-hearted woman, is most characteristically exemplified in the respective characters of Klopstock and his wife, as exhibited in their Memoirs.

The grave of this poet is at Ottenson, a small village near Hamburg, where he lies buried in the church-yard, beneath a large linden-tree under which he used to sit.

men, but to whose fame and name I was now for the first time introduced.

The history of this fair Savante, from the time when she first undertook (as one of her biographers expresses it) “to be, like Luther and Calvin, the architect of her own faith,” till she became the disciple and, it is said, wife of the notorious Labadie, would afford, in a small compass, as edifying a picture of the effects of the Reformation as could be desired. Her lover Labadie who, at last, rose to the “bad eminence” of being at the head of a sect of Protestant fanatics, was one of those preachers of piety and practisers of profligacy, who knew so well and artfully how to avail themselves of the excited fancies of the female Reformers of that period; and one of the precious doctrines which he is known to have held was that “God could and would deceive, and that he had sometimes actually done so!”

A member of the Catholic Church till his fortieth year, Labadie saw what a field was opened by the outbreak of the Reformation,



as well for the licence of private passion as for the freaks of private opinion; and, having first distinguished himself in his own church by endeavouring to corrupt a whole convent full of nuns, he abandoned the Catholic faith and turned Calvinist minister. The popularity which, in this new character, he attained\*, as a preacher, was almost without example; and the contrast known to exist between the spiritual doctrines which he taught, and the very anti-spiritual tenour of his private life was not without its attraction for many of his fair disciples. Of the manner in which he still ventured to instruct his female followers, an instance is given by Bayle, in rather an amusing anecdote, which

\* “ It is remarkable enough (says Mosheim’s Commentator) that almost all the sectaries of an enthusiastical turn were desirous of entering into communion with Labadie. The Brownists offered him their Church at Middleburgh, when he was suspended by the French synod from his episcopal functions. The Quakers sent their two leading members, Robert Barclay and George Keith to Amsterdam, while he resided there, to examine his doctrine.”—*Vol. 5.*

only a philosopher like Bayle could well venture to tell;—and, after a career, not unlike that of some of the old Gnostic hierarchs, this worthy off-shoot of the Reformation died at Altona, in the arms of his last love, the pious and learned Anna Maria à Schurman, in the year 1674.

Out of all this,—difficult as were some of the particulars to manage,—I contrived, during my leisure moments at Hamburgh, to make out a plausible, and even decent, little religious story which I despatched to Miss \* \*, as the first fruits of my foreign inquiries after Protestantism, begging her to present it to the Religious Tract Society, of which I knew her to be one of the most distinguished members.

The account given of her own early life by Miss Schurman, in a work published at Altona, furnished me fortunately with some anecdotes, respecting her infant days, which could not be otherwise than interesting to the evangelical world. We find recorded here, for instance, the first young stirrings

of that piety which shone forth, in after days, so signally, under the auspices of the “John of Jesus,” as her lover, Jean Labadie, styled himself; and, among other things, we are told of the effect produced upon her, when she was a little girl not quite four years old, by the first Question and Answer in the Heidelburgh Catechism, which filled her, she assures us, with “so deep a sense of love for Christ, that not all the years passed, since then, had been able to efface the lively recollection of that moment.” She then informs us\* of her early taste for making babies, in wax, as well as the singular propensity which she had, through life, for eating spiders.

From this interesting part of her history I was enabled to trace her to the full meridian of her fame, when, mistress of twelve languages, and writing fluently in four of them,

\* *Pectus meum tam magno gaudio atque intimo amoris Christi sensu fuisse perfusum, ut omnes subsequentes anni istius momenti vivam memoriam delere potuerint nunquam.—Ευκλῆρεια, seu melioris partis Electio.*

—besides being a proficient in music, painting, sculpture and engraving,—she had the Spanheims, the Heinsiuses, the Vossiuses at her feet, and returned learned answers to the Epistolic Questions of the Dutch Doctor, Beverovicus\*. The literary memoirs, indeed, of this lady might be made to include within their range some of the names of most celebrity on both sides of that controversy to which the doctrines of the famous Synod of Dort gave rise. Thus with Rivetus, the bitter opponent of Grotius, she held a long correspondence of which the object was to discuss the often agitated question “whether it was proper to instruct a Christian woman in the Belles Lettres;”—and it is not difficult, through all the civility of her Calvinist correspondent, to perceive that this Champion of “Immutable Decrees,” could he have had his own will,

\* Epistol. Quæst. Roterod. 1644. There is also among the “*Responsa Doctorum*,” published by the same writer in 1639, an Answer by Miss Schurman. To the illustrious list of her correspondents the names of Salmasius and Huygens are to be added.

would not suffer one of the sex to soar an inch above the work-bag.

While such homage was paid to her fame by this high-flying Calvinist, she boasted also some warm admirers in the Arminian line; of which number was Gaspar Barlæus, the celebrated Latin poet, whom the Gomarists ejected from all his employs in the Church for no other reason than that he refused to believe, with the Synod of Dort, that God had created the greater portion of mankind for the sole purpose of damning them. Among the works of this Arminian poet we find some verses to our erudite heroine, the concluding lines of which may be cited as a specimen of the free and rakish style in which learned ladies used, at that period, to be addressed by learned gentlemen:—

Scribimus hæc loquimurque tibi. . . . .

. . . . .

Sin minus illa placent, et si magis oscula vester  
Sexus amat, nos illa domi debere putabis\*.

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\* *Heroic*.—As a Reformed Minister did not think it unbecoming of him to write these gay verses, one who is

The change from this brilliant, but, as Miss Schurman afterwards deemed it, vain-glorious period of her life\*, to that stage when religion and Labadie took possession of her whole soul, opened a field for Tract eloquence of which I was not backward, as may be supposed, in availing myself;—that saintly neither a Minister, nor Reformed, may, I presume, venture thus to paraphrase them:

Now, perhaps, having taxed my poetical art,  
 To indite you this erudite letter,  
 You've enough of the sex, after all, in your heart,  
 To like a few kisses much better.

And in sooth, my dear Anne, if you're pretty as wise,  
 I might offer the gifts you prefer,  
 But that Barbara tells me, with love in her eyes,  
 I must keep all my kisses for her.

It should be mentioned, for the better understanding of these verses, that Barlaeus had never seen his fair correspondent, and that Barbara, whom he here mentions, was his wife. The final fate of this poor poet was melancholy. Whether from the triumph of the Gomarists, or the loss of all his Church preferment, his mind became at last so deranged that he fancied himself to be made of butter, and lived in constant fear of approaching the fire.

\* There is an edition of her works, in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and French. Lugd. Batav. Elzevir. 1648.

time, when, instead of bending over the profane pages of a Horace or a Virgil, she had no longer eyes or thoughts but for such Evangelical writings as the “Herald of King Jesus,” “the Song-Royal of Jesus,” and other such lucubrations of her spiritual lover; and when, looking back with shame to the praises which the learned world had heaped upon her, she solemnly, and in the presence of the Sun, as she tells us, cast away and renounced all such objects of her former vanity\*.

In this state of pious self-abasement did Miss Schurman pass the remainder of her days;—fully recompensed, however, for her sacrifice of the Beverovicuses and Rivetuses by those inward illuminations of the spirit and familiar communings with God by which she

\* “Eòque omnia mea scripta, quæ ejusmodi turpem animi mei laxitatem vel mundanum et vanum istum genium redolent, hoc loco, coram Sole (ad exemplum candidissimi Patrum Augustini) retracto; nec amplius pro meis agnosco: simulque omnia aliorum scripta et potissimum Carmina Panegyrica que vanæ gloriæ atque istæ impietatis caractere notata sunt, tanquam à meâ conditione ac professione aliena procul à me removeo ac rejicio.”

supposed herself to be favoured; and having received, as has been already mentioned, the last sigh of her Apostle, Labadie, at Altona, she departed this life, not long after him, in the year 1678.



## CHAPTER IX.

Blasphemous doctrine of Labadie—held also by Luther, Beza, &c.—Reflections.—Choice of University.—Göttingen:—Introduced to Professor Scratchenbach.—Commence a course of lectures on Protestantism.

THOUGH it was my fate thus, at the very entrance into my new field of research, to be encountered by so strong a specimen of the effects of German Protestantism, I must beg the reader to rest assured that it was by no means my wish to attach undue importance upon any such insulated instances of fanaticism or absurdity, well knowing that there never existed a system of doctrine so pure as that, among those professing it, some such examples of unworthiness might not be found.

The only point fairly to be considered is, whether there were not, deep laid in the very principles of the Reformation itself, the seeds of all such extravagancies as we have been just now considering; and whether the pro-

fligate and but too successful apostleship of Labadie and the fantastic devotion of his disciple, Anna Maria, were not as naturally and necessarily the result of that unbounded licence which was accorded to private judgment, at the time of the Reformation, as the similar excesses of most of the early heretics were the fruits of the same principle equally by them asserted and put in practice.

And here, I must beg especial attention to a fact, which, to most readers, will, I have no doubt, appear as startling and almost incredible as it did, when first I happened to light on it, in the course of my studies, to myself. The blasphemous doctrine held by Labadie, that "God could and would deceive mankind, and that he had sometimes actually done so," is one that with difficulty we can conceive admissible, for a single instant, into any sane mind. But, once admitted, there is no extent of demoralization and corruption to which, under the shelter of God's own example, it might not be made to lend a sanction. What then will be said,

by those who now, for the first time, learn the fact that such was the impious doctrine of most of the leading Reformers, and that it is in short asserted, in express terms, by Luther himself!

In order to get rid of some of the difficulties which beset the doctrine of Election and Reprobation, and reconcile those passages of God's Word wherein the wicked are invited to repentance with those predestinating Decrees by which he has already fixed and sealed their doom, the first Reformers found it necessary to adopt the monstrous supposition that, in such addresses to the Reprobate, the Almighty is not serious, nor, in thus inviting them to repentance and amendment, really means what he says!—"He speaks thus," said they, "by his *revealed* will, but, by his *secret* will, he wills the contrary,"—or, as Beza expounds it, "God occasionally conceals something which is contrary to that which he manifests in his Word \*!"

\* *Celari interdum à Deo aliquid ei quod in verbo patefacit repugnans.*—*Resp. ad Act. Colloq. Mompel.*—The Calvinist Piscator, too, equally charges God with this

But it is by Luther himself that this gross blasphemy has been brought forward in its most prominent and most revolting relief. In commenting on Gen. xxii. and on the conduct of God, as there represented, towards Abraham, (which is one of the instances given of this alleged opposition between the revealed and the secret will of the Almighty) Luther thus writes:—

“ Such a species of falsehood as this is salutary to us. Happy indeed shall we be if we can learn this art from God. He attempts and proposes the work of another, that he may be able to accomplish his own. By our affliction he seeks his own sport and our salvation. Thus God said to Abraham, ‘ Slay thy son,’ &c.—How? In tantalizing, pretending and mocking\*. He likewise occasionally feigns, as though he would depart far

rick: “ Deum interdum verbo significare velle, quod reverâ non vult, aut nolle quod reverâ vult.” (*Disp. contra Schafm.*) “ In his word God sometimes intimates that he wills what he really does not will, or that he does not will what he, in reality, does will.”

\* Deus dixit ad Abrahamum, ‘ Occide Filium, &c.’—*Quomodo? Ludendo, simulando, ridendo.*

away from us and kill us. Which of us believes that *this is all a pretence?* Yet with God this is only sport and (were we permitted thus to speak) *it is a falsehood\**. It is a real death which all of us have to suffer. But *God does not act seriously*, according to his own showing or representation. *It is dissimulation*, and he is only trying whether we be willing to lose present things and life itself for his account."

It may be questioned whether, among all the blasphemies that have ever been written or spoken, any thing more revolt-

\* Atque apud Deum est *lusus*, et, si liceret ita dicere, *mendacium est*.—We find a similar view taken of God's conduct, respecting Isaac, by a Rationalist or rather infidel writer of the 17th century, who founds upon it a theory for the solution of such mysterious doctrines as Original Sin, Imputed Righteousness, &c.—All these mysteries, he maintains, are but a sort of *legal fictions*, by which God, who prefers such sinuous and mystic ways to the direct and natural modes of proceeding among mankind, chooses to work out his designs.—“Noluit Deus opus hoc perficere directo illo et naturali ordine, quo pleræque res geruntur apud homines, sed per sinuosos mysteriorum anfractus, &c.”—*Præadamitæ, sive Exercitatio*, &c.

ingly blasphemous than this has ever yet fallen from tongue or pen.

Had I at the moment, indeed, when I was setting out from Hamburgh, been shown but the few unhallowed sentences just cited, they would have spared me, I think, all the trouble and disappointment of my journey; being sufficient, of themselves, to have convinced me (though nothing more of this Reformer's doctrines had been known to me), that, from a mind capable of forming such notions of a Divine Being as are there expressed, nothing worthy of supplanting a particle of the ancient faith could have emanated. I was, at that time, however, but slightly versed in the theological part of the history of the Reformation, and regarding the doctrine, therefore, of Labadie as his own peculiar blasphemy, without any sanction for such impious trifling from the chief leaders of his sect, I dismissed the circumstance wholly from my thoughts, and, with renewed zeal of research, prepared cheerfully and even sanguinely for my projected tour.

After some deliberation with myself as to the particular university, which it might be most advisable for me to select as the first scene of my studies, I at last decided for the school memorable in theological annals, as having produced a Mosheim, a Michaëlis, an Ammon, an Eichorn, and proceeded direct, without any delay in the course of my route, to Göttingen.

It would have been my wish,—and I had made a promise, to that effect, to Miss \* \*,—to put my mind in a sort of training, for the reception of Luther's Gospel, by a pilgrimage to some of those places which are now connected immortally with his name. The cell at Erfurth, for instance, where, as an humble Augustinian monk, he, in whom the Vatican was so soon to meet with a *counter* thunderer, used to solace his lonely intervals of devotion with the flute;—the picturesque ruins of the Wartburg, under whose roof he lay concealed from his enemies, and to which, (in the modesty of his heart, comparing himself to St. John,) he gave the ap-

pellation of “ his Patmos ;”—these and a few more such romantic visits would, I felt, have wound me up to the true Lutheran pitch, and besides have furnished me with materials for such a letter to Miss \* \* as would have delighted that future Rectoress of Ballymudragget prodigiously.

It was while at the Wartburg, by the way, and while occupied with his famous translation of the New Testament, that Luther was frequently, as he thought, visited by the Devil, in the shape of a large blue-bottle fly. His well-known visitor, however, did not succeed in giving much interruption to his biblical toils; for Luther, “ who (to use the words of an intelligent traveller) knew Satan in all his disguises, rebuked him manfully, and at length, losing all patience, as the concealed devil still buzzed round his pen, started up, and exclaiming *Willst du dann nicht ruhig bleiben!* hurled his huge ink-bottle at the Prince of Darkness\*.”

To have visited all the scenes of such cha

\* Russell's Germany.



racteristic displays would have been, I was well aware, the most edifying mode of preparation I could adopt for the nearer acquaintance I was about to form with the doctrines of the chief actor in them. As it was, however, the only initiatory regimen to which I doomed myself was the swallowing down a cup of that famous beer of Eimbeck, which was counted so orthodox a drink among the German Reformers, and over flagons of which most of their new plan of Christianity was settled. That the great Luther himself was no foe to this beverage\*, appears from

\* To this beer he no doubt alluded, in his famous sermon at Wittenburg, when, in impressing upon his hearers that it was not by force of hands the reform of abuses could be effected, he told them that words had hitherto done every thing for them:—"It was words (said he) that, while I myself lay quietly asleep, or was drinking, perhaps, my beer with my dear Melancthon and Amsdorf, —it was words that were, in the mean time, shaking the Papacy as no Prince or Emperor ever could have done."

In this same sermon it was that he so far outraged all respect both for his cause and his followers as to threaten that, if his advice was not followed, he would, without hesitation, retract his whole course, unsay every thing he

the fact, which is on record, that the good citizens of Eimbeck sent him, in token of their admiration, a present of some of *their best*; and “as he could not (says my authority) go to Eimbeck himself, to give the words of salvation for the liquor of earthly life, he is said to have despatched thither two of his most faithful and thirsty disciples\*.”

It must not be thought, from the tone of banter in which I here speak of the state of my mind, on leaving Hamburgh, that the turn of my views, at that period, partook in any degree of the same mocking character. We are

had written or taught, and leave them to themselves;—adding, in a taunting manner, “This I tell you once for all.”—“Non dubitabo funem reducere, et omnium quæ aut scripsi aut docui palinodiam canere, et a vobis desciscere: hoc vobis dictum esto.” *Sermo docens abusus non manibus, &c.*

\* The traveller (Williams) from whom I have taken this extract, after stating that a barrel of this beer was, in the fifteenth century, a present for a Prince, adds that if it was at all like the specimens of it which still remain, the Princes must have had “execrable tastes and strong stomachs.”

often apt, in referring to scenes or feelings that are past, to invest them with a colouring not originally their own, but reflected back upon them from the experience which we have since acquired. It is true, with my present knowledge of the life and the doctrines of Luther, I should find it nearly as difficult to speak with seriousness of his pretended Reformation as it would be to discuss gravely the claims to apostleship of a Montanus or a Manes. But it was under a far different aspect I considered the subject at the time of which I have been speaking. My limited acquaintance with the details of that strange jumble of creeds, out of which the multifarious monster, called Protestantism, arose, left me, to a great extent, ignorant of the system of faith I was about to espouse; while the anxiety I felt to discover in it such points alone as might in some degree justify my intended apostasy, made me comparatively blind to all that was of an opposite description, and even lulled, for the time, my natural sense of the ridiculous into inaction.

On arriving at Göttingen, I lost not a moment in availing myself of a few letters of introduction, with which the private tutor of a young friend of mine, who had passed some months at this university, had furnished me. It was through the means of one of these letters, I became acquainted with the chief Professor of Theology, M. Scratchenbach; nor was it possible for me to have lighted upon an introduction more fortunate for the immediate object of my visit. Besides the great and acknowledged eminence of this gentleman, in the walk of learning where my inquiries now lay, there were also circumstances, at that moment, connected with the actual state of religion in Germany, which led him to regard with more than ordinary interest the particular object I had at heart in applying to him. Neither to him, indeed, nor to any one else had I made a secret of my intention to become a member of the Protestant Church, in case, on examining its doctrines, I should find them to be such as I could conscientiously approve.

In consequence of a long-laid train of causes, which I shall attempt briefly, in the course of these pages, to trace, there had been, of late, numerous instances of defection to the Roman Catholic faith, from both the Lutheran and the Reformed branches of the Protestant Church of Germany. These desertions, which seemed to some persons to be but the commencement of a current setting in towards Popery, had a good deal broken that spell of *indifferentism* which had, for some time, hung round the theologians of the University. Fearful only of excesses in belief, the faintest prospect of any return to that faith of which their forefathers had taken such pains to strip themselves, even to nudity, struck alarm through all their ranks; nor could the example, which it was now expected I was about to present, of a conversion in the opposite direction, have offered itself at any apter or more propitious moment.

With the utmost promptitude did my new friend, the Professor, undertake to put me fully in possession not only of the present

state and prospects of Protestantism in Germany, but also of that purifying process by which, as he said, the whole system of Christianity had, in the course of the last half century, been lightened of much of its ancient alloy, so as to assume, at last, that comparatively pure and rational form, in which it is adopted by most enlightened German Protestants at the present day.

As I was well inclined to be an humble and unreplying hearer, my course of instruction took the shape rather of lecture than conversation; and my rule being, to note down, after each of our sittings, such portions of the Professor's discourse as had remained in my memory, I was enabled thus to preserve pretty accurately their substance,—allowing, of course, for such casual and, I trust, slight errors as, from my previous unacquaintance with the subject, may have stolen into my reports.

## CHAPTER X.

First Lecture of Professor Scratchenbach.—Heathen philosophers.—Rationalism among the Heretics.—Marcion, Arius, Nestorius, &c. all Rationalists.—The Dark Ages.—Revival of Learning.—Luther.

IT was, as I well recollect, on the eighteenth of September, that my course of Lectures under the learned Professor Scratchenbach commenced. As I was, at the time, rather indisposed, (no doubt, in consequence of the Lutheran beer on which I had ventured) the Professor offered, most condescendingly, to lecture me at my own lodgings—a small apartment which I had, looking upon the canal; where, on the day above mentioned, taking his seat gravely opposite me, my instructor thus began:—

“ Between the Priest and the Philosopher, —or, in other words, between the assertor of the authority of Faith, and the vindicator of the free exercise of Reason,—there must, at all

times, and under all systems of belief, exist a principle of variance, which can only be prevented from coming to an open and violent struggle, either by the interposition of the strong arm of the State in favour of one of the two parties, or by some mutual compromise or coalition among themselves. For the first of these modes of establishing religious peace, the alliance between Church and State has been always found the most efficacious contrivance. The plan of conniving at, and compounding with established superstitions was the policy adopted by the sages of Greece and Rome; and the practicability of a coalition between Theology and Philosophy is exemplified in the present state of German Protestantism.

“ The exclusion of Reason from all interference in religious concerns was as strongly inculcated, it must be confessed, by the great philosophers of antiquity as it has ever been, at any period, even by Papists themselves. In fact, an implicit and uninquiring acquiescence in the religious rites handed down



from their forefathers was regarded by them as one of the most exemplary duties of all good citizens. ‘When religion is in question,’ says Cicero, ‘I do not consider what is the doctrine thereon of Zeno, Cleanthes, or Chrysippus, but what the Chief Pontiff’s Coruncanus, Scipio, and Scævola say of it. . . . . From you, who are a philosopher, I am not unwilling to receive reasons for my faith; but to our ancestors I trust implicitly, without receiving any reason at all\*.’

\* Cum de religione agitur T. Coruncanum, P. Scipionem, P. Scævolam Pontifices maximos, non Zenonem, aut Cleanthem, aut Chrysippum sequor . . . . . A te philosopho rationem accipere debeo religionis: majoribus autem nostris, etiam nullâ ratione redditâ, credere. *Cic. Lib. 3, de Nat. Deorum.*

Another heathen philosopher thus speaks, in the same spirit: “When all is so uncertain in nature, how much better is it and more venerable to adhere to the faith of our ancestors, as to a depository of truth, to profess the religions, delivered down by tradition, and fear the Gods that our fathers and mothers have taught us to fear.”—  
Quanto venerabilius ac melius antistitem veritatis majorum excipere disciplinam, religiones traditas colere, &c.  
—Cæcil. *ap. Minuc. Fel.*

“ So little, indeed, of a Rationalist, in our German sense, was Cicero, that, though acknowledging the art of Augury to be a fiction and cheat, we find him denouncing, as worthy of the severest punishments, all who opposed or disturbed the popular belief in that rite\*.

“ In a state of things where a Cicero could speak thus, or still stronger, where an Epicurus went, for decorum’s sake, to prayers†, neither the Latin nor Greek priests had much to dread from philosophers; and, accordingly, in their respective periods, the most irrational superstition continued to flourish under the very shelter of the Garden and of the Academy. But, though so tolerant of their own established and time-hallowed absurdities, we may see, in the zeal with which Porphyry, Celsus, and Lucian, assailed, each in his own fashion, the Christian faith, that,

\* Nec vero non omni supplicio digni P. Clodius et L. Junius, qui contra auspicia navigaverunt; parendum enim fuit religioni, nec patrius mos repudiandus.—*De Div.*

† Vie d’Epicure, by De Rondel.

towards what they accounted a new and intrusive superstition, these philosophers were by no means so tolerantly disposed;—being, in this, no doubt, of the opinion of your English divine, Warburton, that ‘nonsense for nonsense, the old should keep its ground, as being already in possession.’

“It was far less, however, of the hostility of Philosophy than of her amity and alliance that the Christian Church, at that period, had any reason to complain;—the efforts made by some of the most learned of the Fathers to graft the tenets of Paganism upon Christianity having more than any thing tended to adulterate the simple truths of the latter, and involve whatever there was of mysterious in its doctrines in still more hopeless darkness.

“The only instances, indeed, which occurred in those times, of free and fearless investigation into the credibility and historical consistency of the documents of Revelation, are to be found, as might be expected, among the Gnostic writers; and more especially,—as far

as can be judged from the mere abstracts of their works that remain,—in the writings of the Marcionites. The sifting search made by these heretics through the Old and New Testaments, for the purpose of pointing out the numerous contradictions between them, affords, perhaps, the first signal example in the annals of Christianity, of that sort of reference to Reason, as the arbiter of Faith, which formed the ground-work both of Protestantism, as introduced at the Reformation, and of that more extended system called Rationalism by which it has been superseded. How acutely Marcion perceived the utter irreconcilableness of the history of the Fall of Man with any of those attributes which true piety would accord to the Deity, appears from his comment upon that event, that ‘ God must be either deficient in goodness if he willed, in prescience if he did not foresee, or in power if he did not prevent it.’

“ These glimpses of Rationalism, however, mixed up as they were with the wild fancies and absurdities from which no sect of Gno-

sticism was free, produced but little enlightening effect, even on those from whom they emanated, while upon the self-satisfied orthodox of the day they were, of course, entirely lost. Like all other hæresiarchs, Marcion was followed for the absurd parts of his system, not for what was sound in it, and the former, with the usual good fortune of error, prevailed. The Church, too, fast entrenched within her frontier of Unity, and having, marshalled on her side, most of the learning and talent of Christendom, might safely bid defiance even to the assaults of Philosophy when approaching in the odious shape and name of Heresy.

“Thus kept safe from all scrutiny of reason, during its early and probationary period, Christianity, when, at last, adopted as the religion of the Empire, received the additional aid and sanction of the secular arm. At the same time, in acquiring this alliance, it could not but lose much of that internal union which the pressure of persecution, from without, is sure to impart to all proscribed religions.

Hence Schism,—so much more dangerous than Heresy, as deriving from kinship but the readier power to wound,—began then only to show itself, to any formidable extent, when the Church, with ‘Kings for her nursing-fathers and Queens her nursing-mothers,’ took her place, mitred and enthroned, as the chosen Spouse of the State.

“Then was it that, within her own bosom, those controversies sprung up, which, though relating to the most awful concerns of another world, were decided by debates and majorities, like the most ordinary state-affairs of this,—the discussions of a riotous Council and the votes of a crowd of factious Bishops, being thought sufficient to determine such points as, whether the Trinity was to be abolished or retained, whether the Holy Ghost was a person or an accident, &c.—Through all these struggles, the Church, (owing chiefly, it must be confessed, to the influence of the Bishops of Rome,) triumphed signally over its adversaries; nor did the efforts of the schis-

matics to simplify and rationalize the popular articles of belief, in any one instance, succeed.

“ In vain did Arius attempt to lay the foundations of a pure system of Monotheism, by asserting Christ to have been but a creature, made, like other creatures, by the one God of all. It was decided against him \*, by a large majority of Bishops (many of whom, we are told, never asked the meaning of the word ‘ Consubstantial,’ till the whole affair was settled) that the Son was *not* a creature, but a Being consubstantial and coeternal with the Father †. The decision, thus adopted,

\* At the famous Council of Nice, assembled by Constantine, in the year 325.

† I have here considerably abridged the discourse of the learned Professor, who, besides that, in the wantonness of his Rationalism, he chose to speak of these ancient Councils in a tone of levity which could not be otherwise than offensive to most readers, branched out also into details of those Assemblies which could as little fail to be found useless and tiresome. The authority cited by him for what he here relates of the Bishops is the Church historian, Socrates; who, it appears, adds that, on coming to an explanation, after the Council was over, such a scene of discord ensued among these

took its station in the code of Christian orthodoxy, and a ready answer was always at hand for all objections offered to it. For instance,—‘if the Father and Son,’ said the Rationalists, ‘are to be considered thus identical, it may be said, that one of the Trinity has been crucified,—that one of the Trinity died.’ ‘By no means,’ answered the orthodox, ‘though the Father and Son are one essence, in perfect identity, yet could the Son die, without the Father also dying.’!

“In vain did Nestorius,—who, to avoid the blasphemy, as he deemed it, of calling Mary ‘the Mother of God,’ held that there were two persons in Christ, the divine and the human,—venture to assert the very simple and obvious proposition, that ‘a child of two months old never could be a God.’ Against him also the usual summary mode of decision was adopted\*, and the union of the two natures in

unanimous voters of Consubstantiality as the historian could compare to nothing but a “battle fought in the dark.”

\* By a Council held at Ephesus, A. D. 431.—Dr. Priestley, whose views of all these great Trinitarian



one person thus inexplicably explained :—‘ As, in God, the Father, Son and Spirit are three persons and but one God, so, in Christ, the Godhead is one person and the manhood another person, and yet these are not two persons, but one person.’!

“ With equally ill success did Macedonius, another Rationalist, endeavour to relieve the Christian creed of the separate divinity of the Holy Spirit, maintaining that the Scriptures afforded no sufficient authority for such an opinion. He was answered that the want, as far as it exists, of express testimony to this doctrine arose from the unwillingness of the Holy Spirit, who dictated the sacred writings, to dwell on the share he himself had taken in the divine operations there recorded\*. A Council, too, was, in the usual

Councils coincided, of course, with those of our Protestant Professor, after describing the proceedings of the Council of Ephesus, says, “ In this *factious* manner was the great doctrine of the hypostatical union of the two natures in Christ (which has ever since been the doctrine of what is called the Catholic Church) established.”

\* Such is the reason given by Epiphanius for the

way, convened upon the subject; and, as the failure of all such appeals to reason, on one side, led invariably to increased demands upon faith from the other, this attack on the personality of the Holy Ghost but ended, as might have been expected, in establishing, among the orthodox, his consubstantiality and divinity. A majority of the Bishops present at that disorderly Council \*,—thirty-six, if I recollect right, having voted in the minority,—came to the decision now incor-

omission of the Holy Spirit in Paul, 1 Cor. 8, 6. “There is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things.”

\* A Council assembled by Theodosius, at Constantinople, in 381.—I have here also taken the liberty of suppressing a considerable portion of the Professor’s discourse. Among his authorities for the “disorderly” character of this meeting, is St. Gregory of Nazianzum, in one of whose Poems it is asserted that the great object of those assembled at the Council was to procure for themselves bishoprics. “They fight,” says the Saint, “and run into schism, and divide the whole world, for the sake of *thrones*.” St. Gregory also adds that “the Trinity was but a mere pretext for their wrangling, the true cause being an incredible spirit of hatred.”

Και προφασίς Τριάς ἐστὶ τὸ δ' αὐτοῦ ἐχθρὸς ἀπιστοῦ.

porated in the orthodox creed that ‘the Holy Ghost was the Lord and Giver of Life, who proceeded from the Father, and who ought to be adored and glorified with the Father and the Son, and who spake by the Prophets.’

“It was before long, however, discovered that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Son, as well as from the Father,—but without prejudice (said these enigmatical believers) either to his own claim to be considered as Father, or to the Son’s right to be considered as only Son; and the fact and manner of this new line of procession was thus, at last, laid down; ‘The Holy Spirit is eternally from the Father and the Son, and he proceeds from them *both* eternally, as from a *single* principle and by *one single* procession.’!

“During the ages of darkness and ignorance that followed the period of which I have been speaking, the Church was fortunate enough to have the undisturbed possession of the Christian world to herself;—the few pretenders to science who, from time to time, usurped the name

of philosophers, being almost all of the ecclesiastical order, and therefore pledged to devote the whole stock of their wretched quibbling knowledge to the support of a superstition by which they lived and prospered, and of which such science 'as theirs was, at once, the offspring and nurse. Little, therefore, had religion to dread from the light of reason, in those times, when even Grammar was thought too profane a restraint upon the words of divine wisdom, and to be ignorant was accounted an essential qualification of all good Christians\*.

“In the midst, however, of this darkness, there had appeared, now and then, some crepusculous gleams, which bespoke the approaches, however slow, of a more intellectual era. At last, in the fourteenth century, the night of ages began gradually to clear away; and, with the revival of learning, there burst forth a ‘morning of the mind,’ a spread of thought and knowledge, in whose light, it

\* It was a saying of those times “*Quanto melior Grammaticus, tanto pejor Theologus.*”

was easy to foresee, Superstition would not very long linger.

“The important change, indeed, which was soon manifested in the tone of religious feeling through Europe showed sufficiently how the spirit of Christianity may be altered or modified by the more or less enlightened state of the minds that receive it. The hostility to the Roman See, expressed openly both by Dante and Petrarch, was but a foretaste of what the diffusion of a thirst for knowledge was yet to produce. Within the very precincts of the Church the inquiring spirit began disturbingly to display itself; and we find, among other instances, a friar of the Dominican order, Savonarola, so far anticipating the glorious era that was at hand as to venture to couple the word ‘Reformation’ with the Church\*, and to maintain, in opposition to the preachers of mystery, the *reasonableness* of Christianity.

“Notwithstanding, however, such glimpses

\* Savonarola wrote a *Ritratto* “della Revelazione della Riformazione della Chiesa.”

of a purer era of theology,—glimpses rewarded, as in Savonarola's case, with strangulation and burning,—the anti-papal adventurers of that period were, it must be confessed, far more of fanatics than of Reformers; nor was it till the ever-memorable outbreak of Luther himself that, for the first time, in the whole history of creeds, it was laid down as a principle, that Religion is to be subjected to the jurisdiction of Reason, and private judgment made the sole test and guide of Faith. From that moment, the triumph of Reason over Superstition was, however distant, secure. The very introduction of such a principle into Christian theology at once threw open the sanctuary to the searching eyes of philosophy, and led, by natural and inevitable steps, (which it shall be my business, in future lectures, to trace,) to that enlightened and philosophical state of religious belief which you will find prevailing among most educated German Protestants at the present day."

## CHAPTER XI.

Reflections on the Professor's Lecture.—Commence Second Lecture.—Luther.—His qualifications for the office of Reformer.

IT would be difficult to describe the state of astonishment and, at times, utter dismay, into which,—though obliged from a sense of good-breeding to put a restraint on my feelings,—I was thrown by the whole course and tendency of this most startling discourse; a discourse uttered, be it remembered, by one who was not only a Protestant Professor of Theology, but still more, a Minister, as I now for the first time learned, of the Hanoverian Church!

The natural cast of my disposition was, as I have before stated, deeply devotional; and I had at this time, notwithstanding my general love of inquiry on such subjects, formed but little acquaintance with the works

of any infidel writers ;—the few occasions on which I had tasted of the cold springs of Scepticism having rather repelled than allured me to any deeper draught.

The irreverence with which, I knew, most Protestants, of all countries and sects, think themselves privileged to speak of that illustrious array of Fathers and Councils which arose, in the early time, as fortresses, along the banks of Christianity, during the first progress of that “river of God” through the world, sufficiently accounted to me for the views taken by the Professor of the inspired wisdom of those early beacons of the truth. It was not till I found him raising doubts, and even more than doubts, as to the direct agency of God in the promulgation of the Gospel\*, and endeavouring to

\* The particular passage of the Professor’s lecture here alluded to occurred in that portion of his discourse which, for reasons already given, I omitted. In speaking of the dark ages, he had said : “ It will be difficult for those who regard Christianity as a revelation direct from Heaven to explain why this revealed knowledge should, at the time of which we are speaking, have shared the fate of all mundane



reduce that special mission of a Saviour to the level of those every-day manifestations of beneficence which all alike proceed, though mediately, from the same divine hand,—it was not till startled by his arrival at this advanced

and ordinary knowledge, and like philosophy, poetry,—like the whole circle, in short, of human sciences,—should have passed through an eclipse as opaque and earthly as ever ignorance and superstition have combined to cast over mankind. That a light, so immediately from the hand of God, should, within a few centuries after its introduction into the world, not only fail in preventing the darkness that then fell over every other field of knowledge, but should itself become as much obscured by craft and credulity as were even the basest of those forms of superstition that had preceded it, is a supposition too monstrous, too derogatory to all our notions of divine power to find admission into the belief of any mind not wilfully hood-winked.

“ A system of faith, however moral and excellent in itself, which follows so naturally the course of human weakness and change; which, in a period of ignorance, takes the dark and gross colour of the times, and in an age of increasing civilization becomes proportionally enlightened, can assuredly lay no claim to those marks of Divine workmanship,—that instant, and constant perfection,—that grand sameness of design and execution, which characterizes all that bears the impress of the immediate hand of God.”

stage of scepticism that I was, at last, aware in what direction my Protestant guide was leading me, and saw that already we were on the high road to the "waste wilderness" of unbelief.

There was, however, but little time allowed me for rumination on what I had heard before I was again summoned to hear more, by the indefatigable Scratchenbach, who, presenting himself early in my apartment, on the following morning, and resuming his subject where we had broken off, proceeded as follows:—

“In most respects, Luther may be said to have been eminently qualified for the great task of demolition which it fell to his lot to accomplish. Intrepid, vain, self-willed, and vehement,—fearless of all attacks from enemies, and elated easily by the acclamation of friends,—with passions ever prompt to suggest what was daring, and a perseverance proof against all scruples in executing it,—the very weaknesses and excesses of his character contributed fully as much as its better points to his success. The indiscriminate licence of personal

abuse in which he indulged gave a vigour to his public displays, in the eyes of the vulgar, which made all else appear feeble in comparison, and against which no man who was, at all, restrained by decorum, could hope to contend with any success. In the same manner, had his natural temperament, as regarded the other sex, been aught but what he himself so coarsely describes it\*, there would have been *one* impulse wanting of the many, strong and ungovernable, which, in defiance of decency itself, urged him on in his career.

“ No other man, indeed, of the memorable band whom that crisis called forth, could have accomplished what may be called the rough work of the Reformation,—the revolutionary part of that great change,—with any thing like the same ability, perseverance, or success. Melancthon would have been far too hesitating and conscientious for the bold, Carlostadt too much of a leveller and fa-

\* Ut non est in meis viribus situm ut vir non sim, tam non est mei juris ut absque muliere sim.—*Colloq. Mensal.*  
—See also his Sermon *de Matrimonio.*

natic for the timid, while Zwingli would have pursued a plan of Reform too philosophical and simplifying for almost all. Even the reverence with which Luther clung to many of the errors of the old faith, was, however weak, of much service, in facilitating his general object; as the transition from old doctrines to new was thus made to appear less violent, and while much was held forth for the lovers of novelty to look *forward* to, there was also much retained on which the reverers of antiquity could look *back*.

“ Nor would it be right, among the various requisites for such a mission which he possessed, to omit adverting to his private character, as a convivial companion, which, among the sources of his influence, was certainly not the least popular. The refined, retiring habits of a leader like Melancthon would have presented nothing broad enough to the public gaze; while of Calvin, as an heresiarch, the sour, arbitrary sternness would have thrown such an air of rigour round the infant Reformation as would not have been

likely to attract many votaries to its cradle. The social habits, however, of Luther, his jollity, his love of music, the anecdotes spread abroad of his two-pint cup\*, his jokes, his parodies, &c.—all tended at once to divert and interest the public, and by lowering him to the level of their own every-day lives established a companionship, as it were, between him and his most distant partizans.

“ To this very day, indeed, his reputation, as a lover of pleasure and good cheer,—surviving, strange to say, almost all his theological tenets,—still continues to give a zest to some of our most popular drinking-songs. For instance :—

\* The famous goblet which this apostle of Protestantism called his “ Catechistical Cup,” and boasted that he could swallow down its contents at a single draught. See the *Colloq. Mensal*. If there were any need of additional testimony to the authority of this work, it would be sufficient to say that Jortin, in his *Life of Erasmus*, always refers to it, as authentic.

Of the Reformer’s higher order of parodies the reader will find a specimen in the appendix to Bower’s *Life of Luther*; his more ribald displays in this way are to be found in the *Table Talk*, in Bayle, &c.

‘ D’rum stosset an,  
 Und singet dann,  
 Was Martin Luther spricht :  
*Chor.* Wer nicht liebt Wein, Weib und Gesang  
 Der bleibt ein Narr sein Lebenlang,  
 Und Narren sind wir nicht \*.’

“ Such, undeniably, was the assemblage of at once apt and powerful qualifications, with which Luther came furnished to that work of assault and demolition, which forms usually the first stage of all radical Re-formations, whether in faith, philosophy, or politics. We have next to contemplate his character from a far more lofty and trying point of view, and having accorded to him his full praise, as the assailant of an *old* system of faith, consider how far he is entitled to the same tribute, as the apostle and founder of a *new* one:—and here, in my opinion, all eulogy of Luther’s character, as a Reformer, must cease.

\* “ Then let us drink and sing what Martin Luther said—who does not love wine, women, and music, remains a fool all his life, and we are not fools.”

“ For that great principle which he was first the means of introducing into theology, namely, the acknowledgement of a right in every individual to interpret the Scriptures according to his own judgment, it is impossible to express too strongly the gratitude which all lovers of religious liberty owe to him. For the service rendered to Religion itself, by making Reason its ground-work, those who seek the reasonable in all things, in Faith as well as in every thing else, can never be sufficiently grateful to Luther and his associates. But here, in the introduction of this great pregnant principle,—a principle, bearing within it the germ of future consequences to Christianity which its propounders little foresaw,—the whole services of Luther to the cause of Truth and Rationalism terminate. His own practice, his notions of tolerance, his temper of controversy, the whole tendency, in short, of his creed and conduct, lay all, as we shall see, in the very opposite direction.

## CHAPTER XII.

Lecture continued.—Doctrines of Luther.—Consubstantiation.—Justification by Faith alone.—Slavery of the Will.—Ubiquity of Christ's body.

“ OF the policy of retaining a few of the minor absurdities of Popery\*, as a means of smoothing away the abruptness of so radical a change, I have already intimated my opinion; and had our Reformer confined himself to this slight compromise with prejudice, he might have been justified, thus far, on fair grounds of expediency. But he has to answer for a far more gross, as well as gratuitous, homage to absurdity. For, not only

\* The Professor alludes to Luther's retention of the rite of Exorcism in Baptism, of Private Confession before admission to the Lord's table, of the use of the Sign of the Cross, of the decoration of Churches with Images, and other such observances of Popery, which were retained in Lutheranism.



did he, in the free exercise of that reason of which he was so vehement an assertor, adopt, to its full extent, the old Popish belief of a Real Presence in the Sacrament, but also in professing to explain more orthodoxly the *modus* of that Presence, introduced a new and still more monstrous enigma of his own, in the place of that mystery which he had found, ready made to his hand; thus endeavouring, by the substitution of the small word *Con*, to give a new form and life to that venerable nonsense which had so long flourished under the auspices of the monosyllable *Trans*.

“That he was conscientious in his adoption of the doctrine of a Real Presence, the accounts left by him of his struggles upon this subject prove\*. He was then recent, we

\* The sincerity of Luther's belief in a Real Corporal Presence is marked strongly in his own declaration to Bucer: “*Quicquid dico in hac summâ Eucharistiæ causâ ex corde dico*”—“Whatever I say on this main point of the Eucharist, I say from my heart.” He also declared that he would much rather retain, with the Romanists, *only* the body and blood than adopt, with the Swiss, the

know, from the study of the early Fathers of the Church, and, accustomed as he had

bread and wine, *without* the real body and blood of Christ. “ Malle cum Romanis *tantum* corpus et sanguinem retinere, quam cum Helvetiis panem et vinum *sine* (physico) corpore et sanguine Christi.”

We have, indeed, from Luther's own pen, (in his “ Sermo, quod verba stent,”) a most able exposition as well of the truth of the ancient doctrine of a Real Presence, as of the futility of the objections which his brother Reformers raised to it. Maintaining that the words of our Saviour are to be taken simply and literally, he points out, as if in anticipation of the fatal mischiefs that have flowed from the abuse of figurative interpretation by the Socinians, the great danger there is in admitting this mode of interpreting Scripture and suffering the mysteries of our salvation to be explained away by figure. The same submission with which we receive the other mysteries of the faith we should bring with us, he maintains, to the reception of this, not troubling ourselves with arguments either from reason or nature, but confining our thoughts solely to Jesus Christ and his word. To the objections raised as to how a body can be in so many places at once,—how an entire human body can lie in so small a compass—he opposes the equally difficult questions, how does God preserve his unity in a Trinity of persons? how was he able to clothe his son with human flesh? how did he cause him to be born of a virgin?

The very same was the line of argument pursued by

been to consider their authority as superseding even that of the senses themselves, the strong proofs which he could not but find in their writings that they were all, to a man, believers in this miracle were, to his still subjugated mind, sufficient evidence of its truth\*. Had he luckily remained as ignorant of the Fathers as were, to the last, his colleagues, Zwingli† and Calvin, the world might have been perhaps spared this mortifying

the Fathers; and it is with an ill grace that believers in the Trinity can deny the cogency of so kindred an appeal.

\* Where the authority, however, of these holy men clashed with his own notions, as in his favourite doctrine of the Slavery of the Human Will, he made no scruple of casting it off. See his answer to Erasmus, *De Serv. Arb. T. 2.*

† When referred to the Fathers for evidence against some of his heretical opinions, Zwingli confessed that he could not find leisure to consult those writers; and to the famous “Mallet of Heretics,” Faber, who pressed him hard with such authorities, he answered, “Atqui vel annum totum disputando consumere licebit, priusquam vel unicus fidei articulus conciliari possit.” In such a hurry were these men to alter the whole system of Christianity, and so impatient were they of any reference to its earliest and, therefore, purest teachers.

specimen of the uses to which so vigorous a proclaimer of the rights of Reason could apply that faculty, when left to its free exercise, himself.

“ The true secret of Luther’s version of this mystery seems to have been that, failing in all his efforts to disengage himself from so strongly attested a doctrine of the primitive Church, he resolved that, though saddled with the mystery, he would have the credit, at least, of promulgating a new reading of it, so as to distinguish, by some variation, his dogma from that of the Papists, and thus keep the spirit of schism between their religions alive.

“ Accordingly, unsanctioned, as he must have well known, by the Fathers, who, whenever they venture to speak clearly on the subject, always imply that the original substance of the elements is exchanged for that of the body of Christ, he had the face to intrude upon his Church that hybrid progeny of his own brain, half Popish, half Lutheran, to which he gave the name of Consubstantiation

—a doctrine invented, it is plain, not so much to be believed as to be wrangled about, and which, having abundantly, for a season, served that purpose, has now passed into oblivion, leaving the Mystery, which it was intended to supplant, still in possession of the field\*.

\* It is a signal tribute to the truth of the Catholic doctrine respecting the Eucharist, that the three classes of Reformers who, in dissenting from it, differed among themselves, should, in every objection and argument which they brought against each other, furnish a weapon against them all to the hands of the Catholics. Thus Luther was accused by Calvin of doing violence to the words of our Saviour, who did not say "My Body is *in*, or *with* this," but "This is my Body;" you must, therefore, said Calvin, either admit, with me, no Real Presence, at all, or else admit, with the Papists, the mystery of Transubstantiation. On the other hand, Calvin and Zwingli were with equal truth accused by the Lutherans of putting a forced construction on the words of our Saviour, who did not say, "This is the *figure*, or *sign* of my Body," but "This is my Body;" while Zwingli, in return, rated the Lutherans on their imprudence, in allowing that the word "*is*" retains its natural signification; because, if it does (argued Zwingli) the followers of the Pope are in the right, and the belief that the bread is converted into flesh must then follow, as a

“ However fitted, indeed, by the peculiar character of his intellect and temperament for the office of sweeping away, without mercy, established errors and prejudices, there cannot be a clearer proof of Luther’s inadequacy to the task of founding an original system of his own, than the fact that, of all those points of doctrine which he himself, in his capacity of Reformer, introduced, not a single one has survived to this day among those Protestants whose Church bears his name. And in this respect, as in most others, he but shared the fate of all those earlier heresiarchs whose respective systems, from the want of that upholding authority which the Church of Rome alone has ever been able to afford to doctrine, survived but a short time themselves, leaving little more than the name of each founder to his followers.

“ The very doctrine, indeed,—that of Jussur matter of course. “ Fieri nequit quin panis substantia in ipsam carnis substantiam convertatur.” *De Cena.*— See also his answer to Billicanus.

tification by Faith alone, without Works,—which Luther propounded as the foundation of his religious Reform, (and in which he but revived, by the way, an old, exploded imagination of the Gnostics,) was brought into disrepute, even in his own life-time, by the dangerous consequences which his disciples deduced from it\*; and in opposing, as he was sometimes forced to do, its most obvious results, he was but passing sentence of condemnation on his own boasted principle. Having himself, for instance, gone so far as to assert the extravagant paradox, that the works of men, ‘though they might be good in appearance, and even probably good, were

\* The immediate practical consequences of this doctrine are thus described by one of Luther’s own disciples, Martin Bucer:—“The greater part of the people seem only to have embraced the Gospel, in order to shake off the yoke of discipline, and the obligation of fasting, penance, &c., which lay upon them in the time of Popery, and to live at their pleasure, enjoying their lust and lawless appetite without control. They therefore lend a willing ear to the doctrine that we are justified by faith alone, and not by good works, having no relish for them.”—*De Regn. Christ.*

still mortal sins\*,’ his favourite, Amsdorf†, thought himself warranted in advancing a step further, and maintaining that ‘Good Works were even an obstacle to salvation ‡;’ while another of his disciples, Agrippa, renounced the obligations of the Law altogether, and considered the enjoinder of Good Works as a Jewish, not Christian, ordinance.

“ This doctrine, I need hardly remind you, was revived in England § by some fanatics of

\* *Prop. Heidelb. An.* 1518.

† Though himself but a priest, Luther took upon him, in the unbridled licence of his self-will, to make this Amsdorf a bishop.

‡ The question “ whether good works were necessary to salvation ” became, after Luther’s death, one of those subjects of controversy which were agitated so fiercely and intolerantly among his followers. For simply maintaining, indeed, the affirmative in this dispute, the Lutheran Horneius was denounced as Papist, Majorist, Anabaptist, &c. and severely condemned by the three universities of Wittenberg, Jena, and Leipzig.

§ As a fair specimen of the opinions of these English Antinomians, I need but quote the words of their great champion, Dr. Tobias Crisp, who died in the year 1642: — “ Let me speak freely to you and tell you, that *the Lord hath no more to lay to the charge of an Elect person, yet in the height of his iniquity, and in the excess of riot, and*



the seventeenth century, and to this day, as I understand, boasts a number of partizans in that country\*; so that, in fact, in the dangerous extravagances of Antinomianism and

*committing all the abominations that can be committed,—I say, even then, when an Elect person runs such a course, the Lord hath no more to lay to that person's charge than God hath to lay to the charge of a believer; nay God hath more to lay to the charge of such a person than he hath to lay to the charge of a Saint triumphant in glory!"*

\* Most of the English fanatical sects have, at some time or other of their career, taken up this doctrine of Luther. Thus it was a favourite tenet of Whitefield "that we are merely justified by an Act of Faith, without any regard to Works, past, present, or to come." The lengths to which the Wesleyan Methodists carried the same convenient doctrine appears from the account which Wesley's able disciple, Fletcher, gives of them:—"I have heard them (he says) cry out against the *legality* of their wicked hearts, which they said still suggested that they were to *do something for their salvation.*" The same writer represents some of these fanatics as holding that "even adultery and murder do not hurt the pleasant children, but rather work for their good. God sees no sin in believers, whatever sin they may commit. My sins might displease God, my person is always acceptable to him. Though I should out-sin Manasses, I should not be less a pleasant child, because God always views me in Christ."—*Fletcher's Checks to Antinomianism.*

Solidarianism we must now look for the only vestiges of that vaunted dogma which formed the ground-work of the Saxon Reformer's religious edifice\*.

“ I must not omit here, in reference to this doctrine, to notice,—as proving how unfit Luther was to be a teacher either of morals or religion,—his audacious interpolation of the word ‘ alone ’ in a verse of St. Paul to the Romans (iii. 28) for the purpose of gaining, by this fraud, some sanction for his own doctrine of Justification by making the Apostle assert that ‘ man is justified by faith *alone* †.’

\* The sect of Lutherans that seem to have followed up most consistently their leader's doctrine, on this head, were the original HERNHUTTERS, or MORAVIANS, whose founder, Count Zinzendorf, maintained, among his Maxims, that “ nothing is required to Salvation and to becoming our Saviour's favourite soul for ever, but to believe that another has paid for us, has toiled, sweated and been racked for us.” *Maxims of Count Zinzendorf*—a work, revised and corrected by the Count himself.

† He was detected, by Staphylus, Emsler, and others, in still further frauds on the text of the New Testament, and for the same party purpose. Thus, in the 6th verse of the Epistle of St. Paul to Philemon, he omitted the word “ work ” after the epithet “ good,” notwithstanding

“ Another article of his Reformed creed on which Luther prided himself no less ostentatiously, (though this, also, he derived from that fountain-head of most of his tenets, Gnosticism) was the absolute slavery and nullity of the human will ;—a doctrine, in his eyes, so founded on Christian truth, that he professed his readiness to defend it ‘ against all the Churches and all the Fathers.’ Notwithstanding this vaunt, however, and the audacious lengths to which he dared to carry his paradox,—even to the blasphemy of making the Deity the author of man’s sin\*,

that this word was, as these critics assert, in the famous Complutensian edition as well as in the old editions, in Latin, of Robert Stephen.

\* In his work *de Servo Arbitrio* Luther declares expressly that “ God works the evil in us as well as the good ; that the perfection of faith is to believe that God is just, though by his own will he renders us necessarily worthy of damnation, so as to seem to take pleasure in the torments of the miserable.”

We have already shown in the preceding volume how large a portion of Protestantism has been borrowed from the monstrous schools of Simon Magus and the Gnostics ; and from the same respectable source is derived also this doctrine—common alike to Luther and Calvin,—which

—he was forced, on this point also, to yield to the saner suggestions of others; and consented, in the framing of the Confession of Augsburg, to the introduction of an article, in which the Liberty of the Human Will is admitted to such an extent as by some

supposes God to be the deliberate author of man's sin and ruin. "It was the belief of Simon Magus (said Vincent of Lerins) that God was the cause of all sin and wickedness, as having himself, with his own hands, created man of such a nature as, by its own proper movement, and the impulse of a necessary will, is neither able nor willing to do any thing but sin." *Comm. c. 34.* Compare with this opinion the foregoing of Luther and the following of Calvin:—"Though Adam has destroyed himself and his posterity, yet we must attribute the corruption and the guilt to the secret judgment of God." (*Calvin. Respons. ad Calumn. Nebul. ad Art. 1.*) Take also another specimen from a Calvinist of the seventeenth century, Szydlovius: "I myself acknowledge that, according to the common custom of thinking, it seems too crude to say, 'God can command perjury, blasphemy, lies, &c.'—and can also command that 'he shall not himself be worshipped, loved, honoured, &c.'—Yet all this is most true in itself."—*Vindicicæ Quæst. aliquot, &c.* One of the Dort divines, Maccovius (Professor of Theology at Franeker) maintained, in still more express terms, that "God does by no means will the salvation of all men, that he *does* will sin, and that he destines men to sin, *as sin.*"

has been even thought to border closely on Semi-Pelagianism.

“ In this doctrine, respecting the Will,—as in every other, indeed, which he himself originated,—the nominal followers of Luther took a course entirely different from that of their master; insomuch that, in the time of Bayle, as we are informed by that writer, the Lutherans had been for a long period on the verge of Molinism. Bayle adds, too, in a spirit of prophecy, the following remarkable words:—‘ If the Lutherans go on in future thus departing from the dogmas of their ancestors\*, there will come a time when they will in vain look for their doctrines in the Confession of Augsburg; and they will then perhaps do as the monks have done by

\* Not only did they desert their Founder’s doctrine on this point, but also carried with them into their later extreme of opinion the same spirit of intolerance which they had manifested in the former. “ Since then,” says Gilbert, “ the Lutherans have gone into the Semi-Pelagian opinion so entirely and so eagerly that they will neither tolerate nor hold communion with any of the other persuasions.” *Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles.*

the rule of their Patriarchs, that is to say, *place all matters again upon their former footing*\*.

“It must be acknowledged that the present state of Protestantism in Germany, combined with those desertions to the Catholic Church which are daily taking place, confirm but too strongly the acuteness of this shrewd philosopher’s foresight.

“Nearly the same destiny as awaited the other doctrines of Luther attended also his strange notion concerning the Ubiquity of Christ’s body. Taking for granted that, as the *divine* nature of Christ is omnipresent, so must also be that *human* nature which is hypostatically united with it, he drew from hence the monstrous conclusion that Christ’s body is *every where*; attempting thereby to account for its real presence in the Eucharist, in answer to Zwingli, who contended that not even God himself could cause the

\* *Nouvelles Lettres Critiques sur l’Histoire du Calvinisme.*

body of Christ to be in more than one place at a time.

“ But from this wild doctrine, also, the Reformer found himself dislodged by those consequences which the enquiring spirit he had himself awakened deduced from it. ‘ If the body of Christ is every where,’ said Brentius, ‘ it is, then, of course, present in a glass of beer, in a sack of corn, in the rope with which the criminal is hanged.’! Whether we look to the doctrine itself or to the consequences drawn from it, we must own that the master and his disciples were well worthy of each other.

“ Such, briefly, is the history of those misbegotten and short-lived dogmas which this Reformer had the audacity to present to the world as the legitimate offspring of Religion by her new consort, Reason ;—so little had his mind of that power, which only great minds possess, of setting the seal of durability on its conceptions, and striking out truths that will last ;—though gifted amply with the coarse vigour that can assail and demolish, so utterly

wanting was he in that prospective spirit of Reform, which alters but to improve, and remoulds but to regenerate; which can look beyond the mere dazzle of the moment's change, and while it clears away the clouds of the past, can also send a steady light into the future!

“Hence was it, as I have already remarked, that of all those doctrines which belonged peculiarly to himself—all, in short, of his system that was not Popery at second hand—the greater portion found its Euthanasia in his own life-time, while of the remainder, all that at present survives is either the mere shadow, as in the Church of England Articles and Homilies, or the mere abuse, as in the tenets of the Antinomians and Solifidians.



## CHAPTER XIII.

Lecture continued.—Doctrines of Calvin and Zwingli compared with those of Luther.—Luther's intolerance—how far entitled to be called a Rationalist.—Summary of his character, as a Reformer.

“ **TRIED** by the test which I have applied to Luther,—the durability of their respective systems,—both Zwingli and Calvin must stand, as Reformers, very far above their Chief; most of the doctrines of the father of Calvinism being still held by his followers, in nearly the same form in which they were promulgated and consistently enforced by himself; while the rational view taken by Zwingli of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper,—as being a mere commemoration of the death of Christ, under the symbols of bread and wine,—has become the standard belief of most Protestant Churches\*. Even

\* Zwingli's views on the subject of the Sacrament, says Bower, “ have been adopted not only by the British

the simple and unmysterious form to which Zwingli reduced the rite 'of Baptism, divesting it of all that miraculous efficacy which superstition had attributed to it, has not only been adopted into the creed of the Socinians, Unitarians, &c., but, with the same good fortune that attended his philosophic view of the Eucharist, has received the sanction of some of the most distinguished among your English divines\*. So

Churches, but by many on the Continent."—*Life of Luther, Appendix.*

\* Though the Zwinglian or, as it has an equal right to be called, Socinian view of the Sacrament had found its way into the English Church long before the time of Hoadly and Balguy, it was by these two divines that so bold and heterodox an innovation upon the doctrines of the Church of England, as declared in her Catechism and Articles, was first openly promulgated. "The rite of Baptism," says Dr. Balguy, "is no more than a *representation* of our entrance into the Church of Christ." (*Charge, on the Sacraments.*) He explains this further by saying that "the sign of a Sacrament is declaratory only, *not efficient*;" thus doing away that effectual and invisibly working grace, which, according to the Articles and the Catechism, is given by means of the Sacraments.

different has been the fate of the doctrines of Zwingli, and even of Calvin, from that which has justly befallen the crude, ill-considered, and abortive dogmas of Luther.

“ While, on his own part, too, this clumsy and precipitate reformer contributed so little, in the way either of strength or ornament, towards the structure of the new faith, his intolerance led him to oppose violently every effort in the work of improvement by others; and it was soon seen that this loud champion of the right of private judgment would, if

In the same Socinian spirit, this Protestant divine tells us that “ the benefits of the Lord’s Supper are not present, but future. The Sacrament is no more than a *sign* or pledge to assure us thereof.”

Equally devoid of all efficacy and mystery was the Lord’s Supper, in the eyes of Bishop Hoadly, who agreed, with Zwingli and Socinus, in considering it as nothing more than a mere commemorative rite:—or, as his able Protestant opponent, the Rev. W. Law, not unfairly describes his doctrine:—“ Thus has this author stripped the Institution of every mystery of our salvation which the words of Christ show to be in it, and which every Christian that has any true faith, though but as a grain of mustard-seed, is sure of finding in it.”

he had his own will, restrict the exercise of that right solely to himself\*. His coarse and bitter enmity to Carlostadt and Zwingli,

\* The author of the *History of Leo the Tenth* notices with just reprobation “the severity with which Luther treated those who unfortunately happened to believe too much on the one hand, or too little on the other, and could not walk steadily on the hair-breadth line which he had presented.” The same writer remarks,—“Whilst Luther was engaged in his opposition to the Church of Rome, he asserted the right of private judgment with the confidence and courage of a martyr. But no sooner had he freed his followers from the chains of Papal domination than he forged others in many respects equally intolerable, and it was the employment of his latter years to counteract the beneficial effects produced by his former labours”.

This part of Luther's character, indeed, has long been given up by all candid Protestants. The Rev. Dr. Sturges, in his “*Reflections on Popery*,” allows that Luther was, “in his manners and writings, coarse, presuming, and impetuous;” and a far higher authority, Bishop Warburton, says, in speaking of Erasmus, that the other Reformers, such as Luther, Calvin, and their followers, understood so little in what true Christianity consisted, that they carried with them into the Reformed Churches that “very spirit of persecution which had driven them from the Church of Rome.”—*Notes on Pope's Essay on Criticism*.

for no other reason than that they followed their own views of doctrine, not his, showed how widely different was his theory of toleration from his practice. ‘They are,’ said he, speaking of the Zwinglians, ‘men damned themselves and drawing others into hell; nor can the Churches have any further communion with them, or allow of their blasphemies\*.’ In another place, too, he says of these brother reformers of his:—‘Satan reigns so among them, that it is no longer in their power to speak any thing but lies †.’

“With an assumption, too, of infallibility, preposterous from such a quarter, he denounced the most trifling deviation, either on the one side or the other of that precise line of opinion which he had thought proper to dictate, as a transgression, not only against himself, but against God. The defeat of the Zwinglians, at Cappel, as well as the death of their able Pastor, he pronounced a judgment on them all for differing from his version

\* *Ap. Hospin.*

† *Epist. ad Jac. Prep. Bremens. ap. Hospin.*

of the Eucharist. In the same bigoted spirit was it that he refused to comprehend in the Confederacy of Smalcald either the Zwinglians or those German states and cities which had adopted the opinions and confessions of Bucer.

“ The same impatience, indeed, of all control which he evinced so usefully throughout his struggle with the Pope still continued to render him impracticable in the hands of his brother Reformers; and this self-willed and selfish principle he allowed to influence him in the most important concerns. ‘ I abolished,’ said he, ‘ the elevation of the Host to brave the Pope, and I had retained it so long to spite Carlostadt\*.’ In a similar strain of dogged defiance, combined, too, with the most unprincipled indifference as to the error or truth of the hasty notions he took up, we find him declaring that, ‘ if a Council were to order the Communion to be taken in both kinds, he and his would only take it in one, or none; and would, moreover, curse all those

\* *Confess. Parv.*

who should, in conformity with this decree of the Council, communicate in both kinds\*.’

“ How completely he held in subjection the wise, but too gentle Melancthon,—even to the endurance from him of blows, as Melancthon himself confesses†,—would be sufficiently apparent, did there exist no other testimony of the fact, from the prominent station and authority which, immediately on Luther’s death, his former slave began to assume in all the counsels of the party. But it was then too late for the mild spirit of Melancthon to have any influence. The intolerant character of the Founder had sunk deeply and indelibly into his Church; and, as he himself had been accustomed jocularly to boast that he was a second Pope‡, so the

\* *Form. Miss.*

† *Ab ipso colaphos acceperim.—Ep. ad Theodorum.* The wretched life which his tyrant led him is described touchingly in some of Melancthon’s confidential letters. “ I am in a state of servitude (he says to his friend Camerarius) as if I were in the Cave of the Cyclops; and often do I think of making my escape.”

‡ When Luther, in going to visit the Pope’s Nuncio, in 1535, stepped into the carriage with Pomeranus, who

followers of his creed but exchanged the infallibility of Bulls and Councils for the upstart pretensions to the same authority assumed by Confessions and other Symbolic Formularies.

“Hence, though Lutheranism has now,—thanks to the enlightening progress of Reason,—become, like most other such distinctions between Protestants, a mere name, its course, for nearly two centuries after the death of its founder, was marked by a bitterness of polemic spirit, a cold pedantry of doctrine combined with a hot-headed intolerance in practice\*, such as never before conspired to render religion unamiable, since human systems of faith were first known in this world.

“In what respects besides his one, great, was to introduce him, he said, laughingly, “Here sit the Pope of Germany and Cardinal Pomeranus.”

\* This intolerance of the Lutherans has been noticed even to a late period by travellers in Germany. Thus the Baron de Riesbeck says, in speaking of Frankfort, “La seule chose qui nuise à la liberté de penser, à l’humanisation des mœurs, et aux progrès du commerce et de l’industrie, c’est l’inquisition qu’exerce le Clergé Luthérien, qui forme ici la principale église.”



and signal achievement in substituting the tribunal of Private Judgment for the authority of the Church, this Reformer has been deemed, by Wegschneider, to deserve the title of Rationalist, I am wholly at a loss to discover\*. Besides the instances which I have brought forward, from his doctrines, displaying an extent of irrationalism which goes beyond even the privilege of such sectarian absurdities, his favourite thesis, on which even the Doctors of the Sorbonne were opposed to him, that ‘there are things false in Philosophy which are true in Theology’ may be said to contain within itself the very essence of the Anti-rational principle; and accordingly, on the first rise of the party called *Rationaux*, we find them frequently contesting this thesis with the orthodox †.

“It is true that Luther first set the ex-

\* Wegschneider possibly meant no more than what many other German Rationalists (as Mr. Pusey informs us), assert—viz. that “*their scheme is the perfection of that Reformation which Luther left incomplete.*”

† One of the earliest of the Rationalists, Meyer, in his work, “*Philosophia Scripturæ Interpres*” (which Semler republished) contends strongly against the notion of Luther

ample,—though certainly not with any clear foresight of the consequences,—of that unceremonious method of dealing with the received Canon of Scripture which has in later times been adopted, and with such searching effect, by far more able inquirers into the authenticity of the sacred writings. In rejecting the Epistle of St. James, as spurious, and calling it a ‘chaffy’ production, ‘unworthy of an Apostle\*,’ Luther was actuated, we know, by little else than a feeling of pettish impatience at the authority which this Epistle opposes to his own doctrine of Justification,—as also at the sanction, perhaps, which it affords to the Catholic Sacrament of Ex-

that there are many things “quæ sunt vera theologicè ac philosophicè falsa.”

\* With a similar freedom Luther expressed his opinion of the relative value of the other books of Scripture. The Gospel of John he called the Chief Gospel, and preferred it far to the other three. So also the Epistles of Peter and Paul were held by him to be far above the three Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, insomuch that these Epistles, together with the Gospel and First Epistle of John, contain all, in his opinion, that is necessary for a Christian to know. See his *Preface to the New Testament*, 1524.

treme Unction. In the same manner, his unseemly attacks upon Ecclesiastes and other Books of Scripture, are to be accounted only among those *post-prandial* effusions of his humour, for which, in his soberer moods of theology, he was hardly to be held responsible.

“ Though the example, therefore, from such authority, of a want of reverence for any *part* of the received Canon, may have tended to weaken, in some minds, that homage for the *whole* which a long reign of Superstition had impressed, it would be paying much too high a compliment to the headlong theology of Luther to trace to his factious attacks on the Epistle of St James and Ecclesiastes even the germ of that bold school of scriptural criticism, for which we are so deeply indebted to the Rationalists;—a school, which, in our own times, has produced a Gesenius to call in question the authenticity of Isaiah, and a Bretschneider to impugn the genuineness of the Gospel and Epistles of St. John.

“ For the rest, taking into view the predominant features of Luther’s character,

—his intolerance, his ungovernable temper\*, his weak, anile superstition †,—the rank ab-

\* “It is impossible,” says Calvin, in a letter to Bullinger, “to bear any longer with the violences of Luther, whose self-love will not permit him to know his own defects, or to endure contradiction.” Those who wish, indeed, for favourable portraits of the Reformers must seek elsewhere than in the pictures they have drawn of each other. In return for the polite names which Luther lavished upon his fellow Protestants, calling them “blasphemers,” “heretics,” “devils,” &c. they as freely retorted upon him such titles as the New Pope, the New Antichrist, and said that “those who could bear his violence must be as mad as himself.” The same candour respecting each other seems to have pervaded the whole reforming circle, and while Melancthon tells us (*Testim. Præf. ad Frid. Mycon.*) that Carlostadt was a brutal ignorant fellow, more of a Jew than a Christian, we are informed by Calvin (*Ep. Calv.*) that Bucer was full of tortuous and double-dealing ways, and that Osiander (in whose jokes Luther took such delight) was a man of the most profane conversation and infamous morals. (*Mel. Ep. ad Camer.—Calv. Ep. ad Mel.*)

† Besides the fancies of Luther, already mentioned, respecting his interviews and dialogues with the devil, he imputed also to this familiar the severe illness of which he was near dying in 1532. In the same manner, some remarkable meteoric phenomena, which occurred in the following year, were, as Seckendorf tells us, attributed by Luther to diabolical agency. This historian, too, has preserved a letter from the Reformer to a servant-maid who

surdity of those parts of his faith which he parodied from Popery, and the want of

was supposed to be possessed by a demon, and nothing could well be more weak or old-womanish than its contents.

With the exception of all that related to the operations of the devil, in which department Luther's powers of belief shone unrivalled, his friend Melancthon was even more grossly superstitious than himself. It appears from his Letters that, while employed on the Confession of Augsburg, he attended anxiously to all stories of prodigies that were abroad, hoping to collect from them omens as to the success of his cause. An extraordinary overflow of the Tiber,—a mule delivered of a foal, with a foot like that of a crane, appeared to him, both of them, signs that something serious was at hand; while the birth of a calf with two heads, within the very territory of Augsburg, was an omen, he thought, of the approaching destruction of Rome, by schism. This last portent, indeed, he communicates seriously, in a letter, to Luther, acquainting him at the same time that, on that very day, the Confession of Augsburg was to be presented to the Emperor! That a mind, capable of such flights of absurdity, should believe also in the predictions of astrology was not to be wondered at; and accordingly we find that this noble victim of superstition was constantly brooding over the horrors of his own horoscope, which among other threatened misfortunes, had foretold that he was to be shipwrecked in the Baltic.

Addicted as was not only Melancthon, but,—as would seem from his letters,—the greater number of his correspondents, to this absurd belief in astrology, it does not

all stamina in those abortions of doctrine which he chose to father himself,—his utter failure in bequeathing to his followers one lasting dogma, but his complete success in transmitting to them the worst bitterness of the dogmatic spirit,—having glaringly before us these characteristics of his whole career, both as man and reformer, it requires, I must say, the summoning up of all our most grateful recollections of the vast service rendered by him to mankind, in throwing open the documents of Faith to the search of Reason, to keep alive in our minds even a due show of respect to his memory, or enable us to listen, without impatience, to the eulogies that are sometimes lavished on his name.

appear, as far as I can learn, that they were any of them acquainted with the alleged prediction, respecting Luther himself, which, through the astrological calculations of Landin, was discovered in Dante, *Infern. Cant. i.* (See the remarks on this passage in Mr. Taafe's ingenious *Comment on Dante. Murray, 1822.*) As a still further proof that the poet could have meant no other than Luther by his "Greyhound," M. Rossetti has, it seems, found out that the word *Veltro* is but an anagram of the great Reformer's name!

## CHAPTER XIV.

Lecture continued:—the Reformer, Zwingli—superior to all the others—his doctrine on the Lord's Supper and Baptism—original author of Rationalism—followed by Socinus.—Analogy between Transubstantiation and the Trinity.

“ OF all the men, whom the great crisis of the Reformation called forth, the most clear-sighted, consistent, and enlightened, was, beyond all question, Zwingli; and it is among the instances which show how, in all such revolutions, the thinkers anticipate the actors, that the mind of Zwingli was already in advance on the road to religious freedom, at a time when Luther still lingered in the dark thralldom of Popery. That to the latter, when once roused, the praise of enterprise and its reward, success, were most amply due, cannot be denied. But the advantage in mind, which Zwingli possessed over him at

starting, he maintained ever after ;—not only throughout their joint living career, but in those important effects which have, to this day, survived themselves.

“ Of the short-lived dogmas, indeed, of Luther, it may be said, (to borrow an illustration from one of your English writers,) that ‘ they rose like the rocket, and fell like the stick ;’ while not a single one of those doctrines which Zwingli either introduced or adopted,—such is the vitality which good sense can infuse into all that it handles,—has been suffered to pass away from the Protestant faith ; for, while his rational view of the Eucharist very early supplanted both the monstrous mystery of Luther and the evasive *Real Absence*\* of Calvin, his simple and un-

\* The Calvinistic view of the Eucharist is thus explained by a learned Protestant: “ Calvin and Beza will not allow the bread and wine to be so much as the vehicle of the body and blood, but make these things not only distinct but very far distant from each other. They allowed nothing but bare elements to be taken from the celebrator, and if men, over and above, receive the body and blood of Christ, that was to be attributed to their own



mysterious doctrine respecting Baptism has, for a long time, been adopted by most Protestant Churches, and has even found its way, in spite of Catechism and Articles, among your *subscribing* Church of England Divines.

“Nor was it so much by the example he thus set towards clearing away the alleged mysteries of Christianity, as by the mode of interpreting the text of Scripture which he adopted for this purpose, that Zwingli esta-

faith, by which they imagined they could communicate of the body and blood, at any other place, and in any other religious action, as well as at the Lord's Table or at the Sacrament.”—*Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice*.

The same industrious inquirer into Christian antiquity, says, in speaking of the view of this Sacrament now prevalent in the Church of England:—“But what all ages and Christians before thought too mean and base to be the whole entertainment for pious souls at the Table of the Lord, that is, mere bread and wine, without either natural or spiritual body and blood joined to them, or accompanying them, without any divine grace or benediction shed upon them by the Holy Ghost,—these weak elements, barely set apart for a pious use, our Arminians and Socinians have substituted for the Medicine of Immortality, the Sanctifying Food, the Heavenly as well as Earthly Thing, the Spiritual Nourishment, the Divine Substance, the Tremendous Mystery of the Ancients.”

blished his claims to the gratitude of all lovers of the reasonable and the intelligible. The rule laid down by him, for this great object, and which he fully exemplified in his own manner of dealing with the Eucharist, is simply as follows:—never to let the mere literal sense of a passage of Scripture stand in the way of a rational interpretation of its meaning; but, wherever the words, taken literally, would imply something irreconcilable to reason, to solve the difficulty by having recourse to a metaphorical sense.

“Thus when Christ, for instance, in instituting the Eucharist, said, taking the bread in his hands, ‘This is my body,’ the words, thus solemnly uttered, were accepted, there is no doubt, by the Primitive Christians, in their strict literal sense\*, even as Christ

\* To this belief, as being that of the ancient Church, the immortal Leibnitz thus bears testimony:—*Aiunt enim (the Impanatores) corpus Christi exhibere in, cum et sub pane: itaque cum Christus dixit, hoc est corpus meum, intelligunt quemadmodum si quis sacco ostenso diceret, hæc est pecunia. Sed pia antiquitas aperte satis declaravit panem mutari in corpus Christi, vinum in san-*

himself uttered them; and the miracle which he then announced, as one permanent, through all future time, in his Church, held its place in the faith of the whole Christian world for a period of no less than fifteen centuries.

“ In the just confidence, however, that no antiquity, however venerable, has any right to establish a prescription in favour of fiction and error, the philosophic mind of Zwingli at once saw through the misconception which had, even from the apostles themselves, veiled the meaning of these words, and, by the application of that test of scriptural truth to which I have just referred, showed manifestly that, in saying of the bread ‘ This is my body,’ Christ could have meant only ‘ This *signifies*’ or ‘ is the *sign* of my body.’

“ It was, I repeat, in his bold adoption and enforcement of this simple mode of interpretation that Zwingli’s chief and inappreciable service to the cause of Rationalism lay.

*guinem* passimque hic veteres agnoscunt metastoicheisin quam Latini transubstantionem recte verterunt.—*Systema Theologicum*.

For, though he himself did not extend the principle further than to the Eucharist and Baptism, it has been, by later followers in the same naturalizing path, applied to other mysteries not less untenable. It is therefore to the example first set by this Reformer in rejecting all that was miraculous in the Sacraments, that we owe that process of simplification which the whole system of Christianity since has undergone, till, gradually purified through the successive strainers of Arminianism, Socinianism, and Unitarianism, it has, at length, settled into that clear and, if I may so say, filtered state of belief, unobscured by mystery, and unembittered by controversy, which is exhibited in the rationalized creed of our Protestant Churches at this day.

“ In mystery and supernaturalism has ever lain the strong-hold of priestly influence ; and the two grand and unfailing sources of this influence, in the creed which preceded those of the Reformation, were the Real Presence and the Trinity. In getting rid of the first

of these, the Swiss Reformer not only opened an inlet for light on this one particular point, where, as Milton said of his own blindness; ‘Wisdom was, at one entrance, quite shut out,’ but also, by the principle which he applied, as a touch-stone to this long-standing miracle, prepared the way for the fate, at no distant day, of its twin mystery, the Trinity. He was, in fact, suspected of being, on this latter doctrine also, a Rationalist; insomuch that Luther, who was too acute not to perceive that all such mysteries have one common cause, called on him publicly for an explanation of his orthodoxy on the subject.

“ It was, indeed, hardly possible these men should be blind to the sure and natural consequences of the revolutionary principle which they were introducing into religion; and how clearly Melancthon, at least, foresaw that the Nicene mystery of the Trinity would, in its turn, be arraigned at the bar of all-judging Reason, appears from a passage in one of his letters, where, speaking of Servetus, he says, ‘ You know I always feared that

there would be, at last, this outbreak about the Trinity. Good God! what tragedies will these questions, Whether the Word is a Person, Whether the Spirit is a Person, give rise to among our descendants\* !'

“ So conscious was Zwingli himself of the invaluable prize which he had lighted on, in this discovery of a mode of interpreting Scripture which would bring its mysteries down to the level of human reason, that he used to call his application of this principle to Christ's words his ‘Margarita felix,’ or ‘happy pearl,’—as though with a sort of joyful anticipation he was looking forward to those still further triumphs over error which future champions of Reason would, with the same simple weapon, achieve †.

\* *Περί της Τριάδος* scis me semper veritum esse fore ut hæc aliquando erumperent. Bone Deus, quales tragædias excitabit hæc quæstio ad Posteror, *εἰ ἐστὶν ὑπόστασις ὁ Λόγος εἰ ἐστὶν ὑπόστασις τὸ Πνεῦμα.*—*Lib. 4. Ep. 140.*

† In this mode of interpretation, as in every thing else, the ancient heretics anticipated the modern. Thus Tertullian tells us (*de Resurrect. Carnis*) that those who opposed, in his time, the doctrine of the Resurrection of the

“Nor was there long wanting one to wield this weapon with a degree of courage and effect which will for ever render his name ‘a hissing’ in all priestly ears,—the learned and excellent Socinus. The very same principles of interpretation by which Zwingli had been enabled to relieve Christianity from the portentous incubus of a Real Presence, were made equally available by Socinus for the subversion of Christ’s divinity, and of all the complex machinery of mysteries connected with that belief\*. In one of his works, on this latter

flesh, argued that “the language of Scripture is frequently figurative, and ought to be so considered in this instance; the resurrection of which it speaks being a moral or spiritual resurrection.”

\* The doctrine of Christ’s Satisfaction, for instance, is thus got rid of by Socinus:—“Even though I should find it written, not to say once, but frequently, in the Sacred Writings, I still would not believe it in the sense which you have put on it. For, as that is utterly impossible, I would interpret all such passages accordingly, giving them the sense that suited my views of the matter, as I have done with many other passages of the Scriptures.”  
—*Socin. Lib. 3, de Servatore.*

As further specimens of his manner of applying this rule of interpretation, it need only be mentioned that in

subject, we find the great parent of Socinianism pointing out as well the analogy that exists between Transubstantiation and the Trinity as the similar processes of reasoning by which both are to be rejected \*; and the following are the terms in which he sums up his parallel:—

his Exposition of the First Chapter of John's Gospel he overleaps the difficulty which there meets him *in limine* by maintaining that John, in calling Jesus the *Word* of God, uses at once a *metaphor* and a *metonymy*; and the passage (v. 14), where it is said that "the *Word* was made *Flesh*," he explains away by showing that the verb *εγενετο*, which is here translated "was *made*," means sometimes simply "*was*." "Therefore," he adds, "we ought not, in this passage, to translate the verb *was made flesh*, but, *was flesh*. For it has been sufficiently proved already that by the term, *the Word*, must be understood the man who was born of the Virgin Mary, who could not be *made* flesh, but *was* flesh."—A disciple, it must be owned, worthy of him who first showed that the words "This is my body" mean "This *signifies* my body!"

\* The biographer of Socinus, Toulmin, in defending this mode of "having recourse to a figurative and more lax sense of all such passages as otherwise assert things derogatory to the divine perfections," adds, "*there is no other way of evading the force of the Papist's argument for Transubstantiation, from the express words of the Institution.*"



“ ‘ But, as the monstrous and sophistical notion of the Eucharist has been by the help of God so plainly exposed that even children, with reason, laugh at and explode it, and it is now evident that what was reckoned the most divine mystery of the Christian Religion is the grossest idolatry, so we hope that the shocking fictions concerning our God and his Christ which at present are supposed to be sacred and worthy of the deepest reverence, and to constitute the principal mysteries of our religion, will, with God’s permission, be so laid open and treated with such scorn that every one will be ashamed to embrace them or even bestow any attention on them.’  
—*Socin. Opera, Tom. I.*

“ It is more peculiarly, perhaps, in that branch of the History of the Reformation which relates to the rise and progress of Anti-Trinitarian doctrines that we are able to trace, step by step, the natural working of the principle which that revolution, in favour of reason against authority, introduced. The impossibility of fixing a boundary, at which Reason, once

started on her inquisitorial career, shall consent to rein in her speed, could not be more strikingly exemplified than in those successive stages of Reform by which the dignity of Christ's nature was lowered from its divine station, losing, at every stage, some attribute of glory that once belonged to it,—first, to the subordinate, but still heavenly rank assigned to it by the Arians; then, by a further fall, to the region, half heavenly, half earthly, of Socinianism; and from thence down, by rapid descent, to the entirely human solution of the whole mystery, in the creed of the Unitarian.

## CHAPTER XV.

Lecture continued.—Antitrinitarian doctrines among the Reformers.—Valentinus Gentilis.—Socinianism—its weak points.—Progress of Antitrinitarianism—the Holy Spirit, not a Person, but an attribute.

“AMONG those bolder speculators who ventured, early in the progress of the Reformation, to express openly their dissent from the received doctrine of the Trinity, the only one whose opinions on the subject seem to have been stated clearly, either by himself or others, was Valentinus Gentilis. This Italian Reformer (one of the scions from that nursery of Antitrinitarianism, established in the year 1546 at Vicenza) though he was for despoiling the Saviour of his Godhead, still allowed him to have been a super-angelic spirit, born before all worlds, who became incarnate in the human body of Jesus, with the view of effecting the salvation of man.

“The next step, in the descending scale,

was the doctrine of Socinus, who, rejecting, as a notion unsanctioned by scriptural evidence, all belief in the pre-existence and superior nature of Christ, held that he was, by nature, man, though of miraculous birth,—being conceived of the Holy Spirit and born of a virgin, without the intervention of any human being. Thus being properly, said Socinus, the Son of God, and endued with divine wisdom and power, Christ was sent, with supreme authority, on an embassy to mankind; and, after his death and resurrection, becoming, like a God, immortal, received from the Father all power in heaven and earth, having all things, with the exception of God himself alone, placed under his feet. To a Being invested with this divine sovereignty it seemed naturally to follow that divine worship was due; and Socinus, in according such worship, was far more consistent than a great number of his followers\*, who, while they hesitated not to believe that a human creature

\* The same spirit of variation and dissension which has marked the course of every other branch of Pro-

could have been elevated to all this God-like sway, yet, with a reservation not very intelligible, refused to invoke so mighty a sovereign in their prayers.

“ It required, in truth, but a very little further advance of the rationalizing principle to supersede, by some more plausible scheme, the well-meant, but wholly untenable system of Socinus, who, by this transfer of all the power of heaven and earth into subordinate hands, made of Christ a sort of Maire du Palais and degraded the Almighty into a Fainéant. One of his disciples, Palæologus, had suggested!—evidently as a means of escape from the grand absurdity of their system, —that though such power might have been

testantism we find also among the Socinians. After the arrival of Socinus in Poland, the Unitarians there formed thirty-two distinct societies, which had, as we are told, scarcely any common principle but this, that Jesus Christ was not the true God.—*Dictionnaire des Hérésies.*

Those who take an interest in the history of Unitarian doctrines will find their curiosity gratified by the instructive sketch of the progress of Socinianism which Dr. Rees has prefixed to his edition of the Racovian Catechism.

entrusted to Christ, during his stay on earth and before the fall of Jerusalem, he had, since his death, resigned all into the hands of the Father, and no longer himself directed the concerns of his kingdom. This easy escape, however, out of an absurdity, which was even more gross than that of the believers in the God-man\*, was rejected indignantly by Socinus, who, with the self-opinion characteristic of a system-monger, still persevered in his own views; and the following extract from his answer to Palæologus, in which, it will be perceived, he disposes of all the arrangements of the Divine government as familiarly as he would any matters of mere earthly concernment, will show, at once, the difficulties

\* The absurdity of the scheme of Socinus is thus sneered at by a brother infidel—"And though the Socinians disown this practice [of allowing seeming contradictions in religion], I am mistaken if either they or the Arians can make their notions of a *dignified* and *Creature-God capable of Divine worship* appear more reasonable than the extravagancies of other sects, touching the article of the Trinity."—*Toland's Christianity not mysterious.*

of the system which he wished to substitute for the Trinity, and the grossly human hypothesis by which he endeavoured to get rid of them.

“ Thus does he argue with his disciple:—

“ If Christ be not removed to any distant place, from whence he cannot himself govern his kingdom; if he be not hindered by other engagements; if, lastly, he live for ever and be not fallen into inactive sleep, it is most weak to suppose that he hath resigned his kingdom to the Father, especially when the sacred Scriptures say not a word of it.

“ If you allow Christ's care of his kingdom before the destruction of Jerusalem, as is very plain, for what reason should you deny it after this and assert that he has resigned it to his Father? Is it because Christ has perhaps since removed to some remote place from whence he may not be able to govern his kingdom, or is so engaged in other concerns as to have no leisure for this office? or does he sleep during this interval, for I

cannot imagine that you will be so mad as to say that he is again dead\*.—*Socin. Opera, Tom. II.*

“ This, from a worshipper of the Power of Reason, was, it must be owned, but a sorry offering at her shrine. But even the failures of such bold adventurers, in the cause of truth, have their use;—the very wrecks they leave become beacons for the guidance of those who follow them. The opinion †, that Christ was neither to be worshipped nor invoked, was but a forerunner of those further

\* Who could believe that it was of a man capable of uttering such blasphemies that the following eulogium was pronounced?—“ High, most deservedly high as those great Reformers stand, Luther, Zuinglius, and Calvin, in the Book of Fame, Faustus Socinus will be found to rank as high in the Book of Life, which is of more consequence.”—*Theological Repository, Vol. I.*

† If we may believe his persecutor, Socinus, (for, however strange it may appear, these apostles of free-thinking have almost all been persecutors) David went so far as to assert that “ it was the same thing to invoke Jesus Christ as to pray to the Virgin Mary and other dead saints.”—*Socin. Opera, Tom. 2.*



curtailments of his dignity which were soon, in the natural course of such sifting inquiries, to take place. It was now found that his miraculous conception was unsupported by any scriptural authority, besides that of the introductory Chapters of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke; and this evidence, on the subject, a bold and unscrupulous spirit of criticism, which had now enlisted itself in the service of Rationalism, pronounced to be spurious\*.

“ The simple humanity of Christ’s nature being thus clearly established, all that confusion between celestial and earthly natures, which had so long puzzled and shocked all reflecting Christians, was, to the great

\* Some of the English Unitarians, content with rejecting only the two first chapters of Matthew, retain those of Luke, in which the passage relating to the miraculous conception has been explained by one of their most learned writers, as not necessarily supposing that there was any thing supernatural in the conception of Jesus.—*Unitarianism the Doctrine of the Gospel*, by Dr. Carpenter.

relief of common sense, effectually got rid of; while, by a similar verdict, or rather series of verdicts, the third member of the Trinity was disposed of in the same rational and satisfactory manner. By a scale of reduction, even more summary and rapid, the Holy Spirit was, in like manner, lowered, till, from its high and substantial station, as a constituent Person of the Godhead, it came to be stripped, at last, of all claims to be considered a Person, *at all*;—the conclusion to which the Socinian Reformers came, on this point, being that the Holy Ghost implies the Power and Energy of God, and is, according to the Scriptures, not a person, but an attribute\*.

\* After referring to numerous authorities on this point, one of the Editors of the Racovian Catechism (Wisowatius) thus concludes:—“It is most safe, therefore, adhering to the proper import of the word, to believe the Holy Spirit to be the power and energy of God, and consequently his gift, as is clearly revealed to us in the Holy Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament.” There was, on this point, however, some difference of opinion among these sectaries, and the Father of the English Unitarians, John Bidle, was one of those who,

“ In this outline of the course of *one* of the great branches of the Reformation, may be traced the working, step by step, of that naturalizing principle which has more or less operated, throughout the progress of them *all*, and must, sooner or later, bring all to the same simplified result. And for these happy effects,—still happier in the further consequences yet to spring from them,—we are indebted, primarily, of course, to that grand principle of the Reformation, which brought matters of faith within the jurisdiction of Reason, but secondarily, and above all others, to him who asserted that principle in its fullest extent, the bold and philosophic-minded Zwingli.

“ In fact, by none of those who co-operated with him was the spirit of their mighty cause maintained with half such consistency, while living, or transmitted with half such effect to as we are told, “ took the Holy Spirit to be a Person, Chief of the Heavenly Spirits, Prime Minister of God and Christ, and therefore called the Spirit, by way of excellence.”—*Brief History of the Unitarians*, 1687.

other times. Luther himself was, as I have shown, disqualified both by his temper and his superstition\* for leaving behind him any durable monument but his name; while Melancthon, though hurried forward in the foam-

\* To the picture of Luther's already presented in these pages, I cannot help adding two more touches,—one, from his own unerring hand,—which the above remark of the Professor suggests to me. In a preface to his works, written but a short time before his death, the Reformer says, “ When I engaged in the cause of the Reformation I was a most frantic Papist; so intoxicated, nay, so drenched in the dogmas of the Pope, that I was quite ready to put to death, if I had been able, or to co-operate with those who would have put to death, persons who refused obedience to the Pope, in any single article.” That he carried this amiable temper with him into the new extreme which he espoused cannot be doubted; and I shall only add to the specimens already given of the tolerance of his spirit the account which Seckendorf, the able apologist both of Lutheranism and its author, has left on record respecting the dispositions of his hero towards the Jews. It was Luther's opinion, says Seckendorf, that their synagogues should be levelled with the ground, their houses destroyed, their books of prayer and of the Talmud, and of the Old Testament be taken from them, that their Rabbis should be forbid to teach, and forced by hard labour to get their bread, &c. &c.

ing wake of his leader, still sighed for the safe moorings of the Church, and was, at heart, half Papist\*.

“ Nor less unfit, though in a very different point of view, was Calvin, for the task of reconciling religion to reason, and establishing a faith such as men of sense could adopt. After rejecting,—or rather juggling away †,

\* The Professor alludes no doubt to Melancthon's opinions in favour of the Primacy of the Pope, as well as his decidedly Catholic language, on the subject of the Eucharist, in the Apology for the Confession of Augsburg. It is curious enough that the very same passage, from the ancient Canon of the Mass, (implying expressly a change of substance, in the elements, after consecration) which gave such scandal by its admission into Melancthon's Apology was adopted afterwards in the Liturgy which Charles I. endeavoured to force on the people of Scotland.

† By no other word than “juggle” could the Professor have half so justly described the sort of conjuror's process by which Calvin, in his mere mockery of a Sacrament, first lays before us the “proper substance” (as he proclaims it) of Christ's body, assuring us that it is as substantially present to the communicant as was the Holy Spirit under the form of a dove, and then, *presto*, by a sudden wave of the wand, converting this real presence into an absence, and showing that the receiver and the

—the oldest mystery of Christianity, he introduced others, entirely unknown to antiquity, in its place; and, while that which he cast off was but chargeable with being offensive to human reason, what he adopted implies impeachment of the character of God himself. For what less can be said of his mystery of Election and Reprobation—a mystery into whose dark recesses none can look without shuddering, and which would make of the Almighty a Being such as even his own Chosen could not love\*.

thing received are as distant from each other as earth is from heaven!

It is a strong proof, however, of the force of our Saviour's words, in instituting the Eucharist, that, while they compelled Luther, against his will, to believe in a Real Presence, they forced Calvin, with no less reluctance, to endeavour to *seem* to believe in it;—though, after all, the true explanation of Calvin's doctrine on this point, is to be found in the profane pun of his disciple Beza, who said that the body of Christ “non magis esse in *Cænâ* quam in *Cæno*.”

\* The following concise and just statement of the fearful hypothesis of Calvinism is from Bishop Copleston's clearly reasoned treatise on the subject.—“We cannot, in-

“ To Zwingli, in short, alone, of all that memorable band, can the combined qualities required to constitute a great Reformer be attributed. Enterprising, but temperate, keeping the speculative in subordination to

deed, conceive how a Being who *knows* all things that will come to pass should subject another being of his own creating to *trial*; that he should expose this being to temptation, *knowing* what the issue will be, and yet speak to him before, and treat him afterwards, as if he did *not* know it.” I have already shown (page 89) into what frightful blasphemies the natural consequence of this doctrine betrayed Luther and other supporters of it.

With equal conciseness another necessary consequence of Calvinism was put by a certain Landgrave of Turing, a great patron of the Reformed Doctrines, who, on being admonished by his friends of the dissolute course of life he was leading, made answer, “ Si prædestinatus sum, nulla peccata poterunt mihi regnum cœlorum auferre; si præscitus, nulla opera mihi illud valebunt conferre.” “ If I am one of the Elect, no crimes that I may commit can deprive me of the kingdom of heaven; if I am one of the Reprobate, no works that I can perform will avail any thing towards bestowing it on me.”—“ An objection (adds Dr. Heylin, by whom the circumstance is mentioned) not more old than common, but such, I must confess, to which I never found a satisfactory answer from the pen of Supralapsarian or Sublapsarian, within the small compass of my reading.”—*Quinquarticular History*.

the practical, and while throwing his energies into the present, still looking forward to the interests of the future,—firm in his own views and purposes, yet tolerant of the opposing opinions of others,—this great man not only, while living, showed himself worthy of the free cause for which he died, but, in dying, bequeathed a legacy of his spirit to mankind, in that rational mode of interpreting the Scriptures which he taught, and the consequent release from mystery, and its attendant, Priestcraft, which the application of that golden rule has since achieved for us.

“To the slow, but sure, working of this one simple principle, we are indebted, I repeat, for the state of the Christian world at this moment. Hence, that philosophic calm, or,—as fanatics choose to denominate it,—*Indifferentism*, which has succeeded to the bitter and vehement controversies that once convulsed all Europe. Hence, the deniers of Christ’s divinity, whose fate, in former times, would have been the dungeon or the stake, may now deny, with impunity,—may even



pass muster as Christians, and take their station in the rear-ranks of Belief unmolested\*.

“ Even into regions that might have been supposed the least accessible to such light, the subtle influence of this principle has yet unerringly worked its way; for, look to your boasted Church of England,—who could ever, in the days of an Abbot or a Laud, have foreseen the possibility of such phenomena, among her Bishops, as a Hoadly and a Clayton †? What prophet would have then

\* The position of Unitarianism on the scale of Christian belief is well described by the late Bishop Heber, who calls it a system which “ leans on the utmost verge of Christianity, and which has been in so many instances a stepping-stone to simple Deism.” The accomplished Bishop would, no doubt, have been shocked to be told (what is, nevertheless, but too true) that his own religion was but the first of the stepping-stones in this path.

† Of the *Essay on Spirit* which this distinguished Prelate of the Church of Ireland published under his own name, in 1751, the zealous Whitaker thus speaks:—“ This folly (of Arianism) has been recently revived by what appears a monster of absurdity to these later ages, an Arian Bishop of the Church. Bishop Clayton revived it in his *Essay on Spirit*.”

It has been said that Clayton was only guilty of the imprudence of lending his name to this work, which was, in reality, the production of a young clergyman of his

dared to predict that a day would yet arrive, when the mark of Arius would be seen peeping from under the mitres of the Establishment, and even Socinianism be allowed to touch, with her disenchanting wand, the long vaunted orthodoxy of the Church of England Sacraments\*?

diocese. But the hostility of this bishop, not only to the Athanasian, but the Nicene Creed, and the bold effort which he made, by appealing to the House of Lords on the subject, to have both Creeds expunged from the Liturgy of the Irish Church, show that though not, perhaps, the author of the Essay in question, he concurred sufficiently with it, in spirit, to be held answerable for all its heterodoxy.

\* In charging the Hoadlyan scheme of the Sacrament with Socinianism, the Professor but echoes the language of one of the few Prelates of the Church of England who have thought proper to declare themselves against this now prevalent opinion among the members of the Establishment. In a Sermon, preached before the University of Oxford, the late Bishop Cleaver, after impressing upon his hearers the intimate connexion which subsists between the importance of the Lord's Supper and the dignity of Christ's nature,—insomuch that any depreciation of the high benefits of the former is, in effect, a denial of the divinity of the latter,—proceeds to say that the fame acquired in certain quarters by Bishop Hoadly's Plain Account of the Sacrament was "*for the sake of its connexion with Socinian notions.*"

## CHAPTER XVI.

Lecture continued.—Effects of the rationalizing mode of interpretation as exhibited in Germany.—Contrasts between past and present state of Protestantism.—Inspiration of the Scriptures rejected.—Authenticity of books of the Old and New Testament questioned, &c. &c.

“ WE have seen that, even within the guarded precincts of the Church of England Establishment,—pledged, as it is, by Articles, and moreover bribed, by rich rewards, into orthodoxy,—the natural consequences of the primal principle of Protestantism have, in many instances, shown themselves, and would, doubtless, under a system of Church Government, less appealing to strong worldly considerations, have been still more fully, or I should rather say, more openly developed.

“ But,—to bring home at once to the scene of its most extensive and signal results, this inherent and ever working principle of the

Reformation,—need I point elsewhere than to my own country, Germany, for manifestations of its activity and its power? can we ask any more convincing proof of the efficiency of that one simple doctrine which taught that the Scriptures are to be interpreted according to the light of Reason, than is afforded in the deep, radical, and all-pervading change which it has worked throughout the whole system of religious belief in Germany\*?

“ Among that people, who once, in their

\* “ It needed not be added (says the Rev. Mr. Rose, Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge) that the *Protestant Church of Germany is the mere shadow of a name*. For this *abdication of Christianity* was not confined to either the Lutheran or Calvinist profession, but extended its baleful and withering influence with equal force over each.”—*Sermons*.

Similar to this is the account given by a German writer, Baron Starke;—“ Protestantism,” he says, “ is so degenerated that little more than its mere name subsists at the present day. At all events, it must be owned it has undergone so many changes, that, if Luther and Melancthon were to rise again, they would not know the Church which was the work of their industry.”—*Entret. Philosoph.*

zeal for the infallibility of Scripture, maintained that the whole of it had been dictated *verbatim* by the Holy Spirit\*,—that the very Hebrew points and accents of the Old Testament were inspired, and, still further, that even those formularies and Confessions of Faith, every line of which teemed with materials for wrangling, were, one and all, suggested by the same Heavenly prompter,—among that very people, so vast a change

\* “ Such an exaggerated theory of inspiration (says Mr. Pusey) did undoubtedly contribute mainly to shake in Germany the belief in the doctrine itself, since the whole seemed to depend upon this faulty theological system. It was a *fancied idea of expediency, in support of the main Protestant position against the Romanists*, which gave rise to this system among them. Deeply have their descendants to regret their short-sighted policy.”

Thus was party-spirit at the bottom of all, during the first struggles of Protestantism. Having set up the Bible, as their sole guide, in opposition to the Catholics, to uphold its entire inspiration, in every word and syllable, became a point not so much of religion as of honour with the party; and the consequence has been, according to the ordinary course of such extremes, that the descendants of those very men who cried up the Bible as every thing, have now succeeded, as we see, in degrading the Bible to almost nothing.

has the reasoning principle wrought\*, that they now reject all supposition of inspiration whatever, and regard the whole of the Scrip-

\* The following extract from the Sermons of Mr. Rose, —the gentleman to whom we owe our first full insight into the state of Protestantism in Germany,—contains, in a few words, such a general view of the subject as may save me the trouble of referring to his authority for the details:—“ They (the rationalizing Divines of Germany) are bound by no law but their own fancies; some are more and some less extravagant; but I do them no injustice after this declaration in saying, that the general inclination and tendency of their opinions (more or less forcibly acted on) is this,—that, in the New Testament we shall find only the *opinions* of Christ and the Apostles adapted to the age in which they lived, and not eternal truths; that Christ himself had neither the design, nor the power of teaching any system which was to endure; that, when he taught any enduring truth, as he occasionally did, it was without being aware of its nature; that the Apostles understood still less of real religion; that the whole doctrine, both of Christ and his Apostles, as it is directed to the Jews alone, so it was gathered in fact from no other source than the Jewish Philosophy; that Christ himself erred and his Apostles spread his errors, and that, consequently, no one of his doctrines is to be received on their authority; but that, without regard to the authority of the Books of Scripture, and their asserted divine origin, each doctrine is to be examined according to the principles of right reason, before it is allowed to be divine.”

tures themselves, from beginning to end, as a series of venerable, but human, and, therefore, fallible documents.

“In that same country whose theologians once prized the Old Testament as an equally valuable repository of Christian faith with the New,—seeing under the veil of its types the substance of the Gospel, and in its prophecies an inverted history of the mission of Christ\*—in that country a more inquiring and dis-

\* “They held,” says Mr. Pusey, in speaking of those former theologians of Germany, “that all the distinguishing doctrines of Christianity were even to the Jews as much revealed in the Old Testament as in the New, and that the knowledge of these doctrines was as necessary to their salvation as ours.” He then adds that “no error seems to have prepared so much for the subsequent reaction, in which *all prophecy was discarded*, all doctrine considered to be precarious.”—*Historical Inquiry*.

To such a length were these notions carried at that period (about 1640) that the celebrated Lutheran, Calixtus, was accused of Arianism and Judaism, because he thought that the doctrine of the Trinity was not revealed with equal clearness in the Old as in the New Testament; nor was, under the old dispensation, as necessary to salvation.

cerning theology has now severed all such connexion between the two codes. Instead of finding Christ *every where* in the pages of the Old Testament, these divines (as was once objected to Grotius\*) find him *no-where*;—the prophecies hitherto assumed as having reference to the Saviour being meant really to refer to the future state of the Jews, and having, consequently, no further connexion with Christ than as *accommodated* by himself and others to his mission. The many wonderful instances which the Hebrew Scriptures record of the direct interposition of God in this world, are no longer looked upon as aught but Jewish images and dreams: those historical narratives for whose truth, and even verbal accuracy, the Holy Spirit, as their dictator, used formerly to be held accountable, are now explained away, as allegories, or re-

\* It was said, with reference to their different modes of interpretation, that “Cocceius found Christ every where in the Old Testament, and Grotius found him nowhere.”



jected, as forgeries; and even that most important of all, on whose truth so much of Christianity depends, the Mosaic History of the Creation and Fall of Man, has been shown to bear on its face the features of mythologic fiction\*.

“ While thus of the *Old Testament* our views have undergone such a change, some of our illusions, respecting the *New*, have been no less thoroughly dissipated. The notion, indulged in so fondly by our ancestors, not only of the inspiration of the whole volume, but of the uniform purity of its language, throughout, could not stand before the progress of an improving spirit of criticism; and, accordingly,—imitating rather the boldness of Luther himself than the blind homage paid by his Church to every syllable of Scripture,—our Divines have dealt as unceremoniously

\* On this point, the German Divines have not had all the Rationalism to themselves, as the Rev. author of the “Free Inquiry” was even before hand with these critics in ridiculing the notion of “a Serpent’s speaking and reasoning.”—See *Middleton’s Essay* on this subject, and also his *Letter to Dr. Waterland*.

with most parts of the New Testament as did the great Reformer himself with the Epistle of St. James. They have shown that, in most of the Epistles, gross errors and interpolations abound,—the latter traceable chiefly to about the beginning of the second century; while not only the Epistles but the Gospel attributed to St. John have been proved by Bretschneider to have been the productions of some Gnostic of the same period\*.

“Nor is this all; for even the trust-worthiness of the remaining three Gospels has been called seriously into question by a most important discovery which we owe, in the first instance, to the sagacity of our learned

\* In the Preface to this work Bretschneider justifies his object in writing it, both by the example of Luther and the principles of the Evangelical Church.—“*Eam enim iudicii libertatem non solum antiquissima sibi vindicavit ecclesia, sed eâ quoque usus est Lutherus, eademque denique principiis ecclesiæ evangelicæ est quam convenientissima.*” Many other German theologians, besides Bretschneider, and, among the rest, Cludius, (Superintendent of the Lutheran church, at Hildesheim!) have taken similar views as to the spuriousness of the writings attributed to St. John.

Michaelis, but which others, since his time, have brought still further into light. The fact proved, as it appears, from clear internal evidence, by these critics is, that the Three first Gospels are not, in reality, the works of the writers whose names they bear, but merely transcriptions or translations of some anterior documents\*. To the proofs brought by our Rationalists of this fact, there has been, as yet, no satisfactory

\* By Berthold, one of those critics who assert the existence of a common document, it is maintained that this original of the three first Gospels was written in Aramaic. The Epistles of St. Paul, too,—as well as, indeed, all the other Epistles,—he asserts, in like manner, to be merely translations from the Aramaic; so that, as an able writer in the *British Critic* has remarked, on the subject, “instead of the good old-fashioned notion that the New Testament is a collection of works composed by the persons whose names they bear, and who wrote under the immediate inspiration of the Holy Ghost, we must now believe that the original narrator of the Gospel History was an unknown person; and that the Gospels and Epistles, which we read in Greek, are merely translations made by some persons whose names are lost, and who betray themselves by several blunders in the work which they undertook.”—*July*, 1828.

answer from the orthodox: and thus the minds of all thinking Christians are left to the painful doubt whether the same hands that copied may not also have interpolated, and whether Protestants may not find that their sole guide of faith is, after all, but a dubious and fallible dependence, without those lights of tradition by which, conjointly with the Scriptures, the Catholic Church has, through all ages, steered her course. We know, from undoubted evidence, that, about the end of the second Century, both the forgery of new Gospels and the adulteration of old ones prevailed throughout the Christian world, to a very great extent; and the latter species of fraud, if we may trust their mutual accusations, was, in an equal degree, practised both by heretics and by the orthodox;— ‘Ego Marcionis adfirmo adulteratum (says Tertullian) Marcion meum.’

“ But however, ultimately, the question respecting the genuineness of these documents may be decided, the rational mode in which we now interpret both their facts and their

doctrines completely purges them of all that fanaticism and mystery from which Superstition has hitherto drawn her chief aliment; and our method of solving all such unsoundnesses and inconsistencies in doctrine, is, like most methods that are found efficient in their operation, simple. It being admitted that, on some points,—and, among others, for instance, demoniacal possessions,—Christ accommodated himself to the prejudices and superstition of his hearers, we think it warrantable, wherever his precepts are found to jar with sound reason, to seek in the same temporizing policy the solution of such difficulties.

“The doctrinal part of the New Testament being thus sifted of its *irrationalism*, there remained but the task of reconciling to the laws of reason and nature, those deviations from the course of both which its recorded miracles present; and this not very easy service our theologians have attempted, with success as various as the modes which they have adopted for their purpose,—sometimes

resolving the whole wonder into a mere exaggeration of natural phenomena; sometimes showing, as in the instance of Jesus walking upon the sea, that to a preposition, mistranslated, the entire miracle owes its origin\*; and sometimes even (as was the case in the time of Mesmer's celebrity) attributing the

\* According to this solution of the miracle, which we owe to a *Professor of Theology*, Paulus, the words *επι την θαλασσαν περιπατουντα* are to be translated "walking *by* the sea," instead of "walking *on* the sea." His explanation of the miracle of the tribute-money and the fish is equally worthy of a Protestant Professor. "What sort of miracle is it," asks Paulus, "which is commonly found here? I will not say a miracle of about 16 or 20 groschen, (2s. 6d.) for the greatness of the value does not make the greatness of the miracle. But it may be observed, that as, first, Jesus received, in general, support from many persons, (Judas kept the stock, John xii. 6) in the same way as the Rabbis lived from such donations; as, secondly, so many pious women provided for the wants of Jesus; as, finally, the claim did not occur at any remote place, but at Capernaum, where Christ had friends, a miracle for about a dollar would certainly have been superfluous." For a further account of this precious Theologian, see Rose, *State of Protestantism in Germany*.

wonderful cures performed by Christ to the effects of Animal Magnetism\*. In short, by one explanation or another, all that is miraculous in the relations of the New Testament has been evaporated away effectually, leaving nothing but the mere human realities behind.

“ Thus, of all that imposing apparatus of miracles,—which, having been conjured up as a necessary appendage to Christ’s Divinity, should now, along with that Divinity, be suffered to pass away,—the only one that still retains a hold on our faith is the great miracle of the Resurrection, to which, in despite of all reasoning, human nature still clings, and which, therefore, but few of our theologians have yet ventured to call in question †.

\* In speaking of the enthusiasts for animal magnetism, who went so far as to attribute to it the raising of the apparition of Samuel by the Pythoness, the Abbé Grégoire says, “ Comme les néologues Protestans, ils appliquent à d’autres faits surnaturels racontés dans la Bible cette thaumaturgie médicale qui tendroit à démolir tout le plan de la révélation.”

† Among these is Paulus, who, in his Commentary, asserts, that Christ did not really die, but suffered a faint-

“ Into a detail of the various doctrines, reputed hitherto as the very essence of Christianity, which have already fallen before the all-conquering march of Rationalism, it is not my intention here to enter. Suffice it to say, throughout that region,—including Switzerland\* within its circle,—which saw

ing fit. One of the fathers of Rationalism, Semler, held the Resurrection to be a sort of poetic mythus, which was to be received in some moral or allegorical sense; and Wegschneider says, that though Christ *seemed* to the bystanders to expire, yet, after a few hours, being given up to the sedulous care of his friends, he returned to life on the third day.

Mr. Pusey looks upon it as one of those symptoms of a returning reverence for Christianity which he is sanguine enough to perceive in the present state of the Germans, that the doctrine of the Resurrection has resumed its place in their creed. “ Many,” he says, “ I heard of, others I saw in Germany, who had formerly been cold Rationalists, but who were now in different degrees approximating to the fulness of Christianity. From the stage in which the one great miracle of our Saviour’s Resurrection was held as the basis of Christian revelation, from this stage onwards there was progress.”—*Historical Enquiry*.

\* “ The ministers of Geneva,” says a Protestant writer, Grenus, “ have already passed the unchangeable barrier. They have held out the hand of fellowship to



the birth, the triumphs, the excesses of the Reformation; that region, where intolerance once rioted over its victims; where Pestelius was condemned to death by the lawyers of Wittenberg for no other reason than that he differed with them on the subject of the Eucharist; where Calvin brought Servetus to the stake, and the Bernese Reformers beheaded Gentilis, for opinions scarce more heterodox, on the Trinity, than those of Whiston and Dr. Samuel Clarke;—through that whole region, not only the Trinity, but every doctrine at all connected with it, the superior nature of Christ, the Personality of

Deists and to the enemies of the faith. They even blush to make mention, in their Catechisms, of Original Sin, without which the Incarnation of the Eternal Word is no longer necessary."

Rousseau, in his *Lettres de la Montagne*, gives much the same account of the Genevese of his own time:—"When asked," he says, "if Jesus Christ is God, they do not dare to answer. When asked, what mysteries they admit, they still do not dare to answer . . . . . A philosopher casts upon them a rapid glance and penetrates them at once,—he sees they are Arians, Socinians."

the Holy Spirit, the Incarnation\*, the Atonement with its attendant mysteries, have all, by the great mass of Protestants, of all denominations, been cast off, as fictions and absurdities, from their creed.

“ Finally,—to close and crown this series of striking contrasts which the Germany of the nineteenth century presents to the Germany of the sixteenth and seventeenth,—I need but point to the extraordinary coalition which has, within these few years, taken place between the two principal creeds into which the Re-

\* We find clear work made of all these mysteries by a German divine, Cannabich, who in a “ Review of the ancient and new Dogmas of the Christian Faith,” coolly sets aside the Trinity, Original Sin, Justification, the Satisfaction of Christ, Baptism, and the Lord’s Supper, as taught in his own Church. This levelling divine (who held one of the highest dignities in the Lutheran Church) thus speaks of the Trinity :—“ The dogma of the Trinity may be removed, without scruple, from religious instruction, as being a new doctrine, without foundation and contrary to reason ; but it must be done with great circumspection, that weak Christians may not take scandal at it or a pretext to reject all religion !”

formation, in its first progress, branched. Of all Churches, perhaps, that ever existed, the most fiercely intolerant has been the Lutheran\*, —not only in persecuting, imprisoning, and even excluding from salvation, as heretics †, the members of her sister Church, the Reformed or Calvinist, but also in nurturing within her own bosom such a nest of discord ‡ as had never

\* “ De toutes les sectes du Christianisme,” says Rousseau, with just severity, “ la Luthérienne me parôit la plus inconséquente. Elle a réuni comme à plaisir contre elle seule toutes les objections qu’elles se font l’une à l’autre. Elle est en particulier intolérante comme l’Église Romaine ; mais le grand argument de celle-ci lui manque ; elle est intolérante sans savoir pourquoi.”—*Lettres de la Montagne.*

† Thus a learned Professor, Fecht, in a work “ De Beatitudine Mortuorum in Domino,” expressed his opinion that all but Lutherans, and *certainly* all the Reformed, were excluded from salvation. But to Lutherans he asserted that the term “ der selige,” or “ died in the Lord,” ought in all cases to be applied, even though they had led notoriously ungodly and profligate lives, and on their deathbeds had not given the least indication of repentance.—*See Mr. Pusey’s Historical Enquiry.*

‡ Among the instances of Lutherans persecuted by Lutherans, I shall only enumerate Strigel, imprisoned three years for maintaining that man was not merely passive in

before been engendered by theologic hate, —Ultra Lutherans, and Melancthonians refusing each other the rites of communion and burial\*, —Flacianists against Strigelians, —Osiandrians against Stancarians†, —each of these parties hating its opposite as inveterately as all agreed in detesting their common enemy the Calvinists. Yet this very Church, born, as it was, and nursed in discord, till strife seemed the very element, the principle, of its existence, has, within these few years (thanks to the becalming power of Rationalism) sunk quietly into coalition with its ancient foe, and the work of his conversion,—Hardenberg, deposed and banished from Saxony for only *approximating* to the Reformed doctrines on the Communion,—Peucer, Melancthon's son-in-law, imprisoned ten years, for espousing the cause of his father-in-law's followers, and Cracau, put to the torture for the same Anti-Lutheran offence.

\* The origin of this controversy was the extravagant assertion of Flacius that "original sin was the substance of human nature."

† By Osiander it was maintained that our justification through Christ was derived from his *divine* nature solely, while Stancarus ascribed the work of justification to his *human* nature alone. Thus did these "graceless bigots fight,"—for ever in extremes, and for ever in the dark.

now shares amicably with it the same temples, the same ministers, and the same Sacraments\*!

“To the eternal glory of Reason, the world now beholds the edifying spectacle of two religions once so mutually hostile, that each would have freely granted salvation to be attainable any where but within the hated pale of the other, now quiescently subsiding into a partnership of belief,—with creeds simplified, it is true, on both sides, to so rational an extent, as to leave them, even were they so disposed, but few dogmas to dispute about †,

\* One of the compromises by which this strange union has been effected is not a little curious. The Lutherans had been accustomed, like the Catholics, to use a small wafer, *whole*; the Calvinists bread, which they *broke*. They now use in common a large Lutheran wafer, which is broken, like the Calvinistic bread.

We have here a type, if I may so say, of the fate of German Protestantism altogether. It was respecting the *substance* in the Eucharist that these Churches first fell into variance, and now a mere compromise as to the *wafer* has been sufficient to bring them together again! Well might the Abbé de la Mennais say, “*Le Protestantisme fatigué s’est endormi sur des ruines.*”

† As a confirmation of all that is here stated by the Professor, I give the following passage from an English

and, with that best and sole guard against dissension and craft, a freedom from all dark and uncharitable mysteries.

“ To Zwingli who, both by the example and the rule which he held out in applying the touch-stone of common sense to the mystery

traveller, Mr. Jacob, who, in speaking of the reconciliation in question, says, “ This union is said to have spread still wider a spirit of indifference upon sacred subjects. The distinguishing tenet of the Lutherans, and that which is contained in their Symbolic Books, to which the clergy profess adherence, is the doctrine of the Real presence of the body and blood of Christ, in the bread and wine, in the Lord's Supper. This tenet, though it has been ever the profession of the Lutheran Church, has been long abandoned by almost the whole of its ministers. The Reformed, or Calvinistic ministers, had, like their brethren of the Lutheran party, little to give up. Their distinguishing tenets of predestination, election, perseverance, and impelling grace were passed over in their public services, as obsolete dogmas never to be introduced, and it was generally understood that, for a century past, they have been scarcely entertained by any considerable number of the clergy; so that the union which has been effected is not imagined to have had any other practical effect, but that of making the common people think religious worship, under any form, as much a matter of indifference as this union, thus easily effected, shows that different opinions are to their teachers.”

of the Eucharist, was the main source, I again repeat, of all the consequences I have been describing, we are indebted for other bold lights, in the same adventurous track, which would yet more fully illustrate the working of his principle, but to which the extent this Lecture already has reached permits me barely to allude. The gloomy dogma of Original Sin,—an evident graft from Manicheism,—was among the doctrines discarded by this enlightened Reformer\*, who, in rejecting the notion that Baptism washes away sin, denied that there is any original sin to wash away. As on the existence, too, of this innate corruption depends the necessity of a Redemption, we can little wonder at his adopting a scheme of Salvation so comprehensive, that, according to his view, the great heroes and sages of Paganism are no less admissible to the glories of

\* He held it to be a misfortune, a malady of man's nature,—not sin, nor incurring the penalty of damnation. "Colligimus ergo peccatum originale morbum quidem esse, qui tamen per se non culpabilis est, nec damnationis pœnam inferre potest."—*Tractat. de Baptism.*

Heaven than St. Paul himself. In his Confession of Faith addressed, but a short time before his death, to Francis I., not content with assuring that monarch that he might expect to meet, in the assembly of the Blessed, such illustrious ancients as Socrates, the Scipios, the Catos, grouped, side by side, with Moses, Isaiah, and the Virgin Mary, he announces also, as part of the company, the Demigods Hercules and Theseus, and at the head of all places Adam and Jesus Christ himself.

“ I have already intimated that, during his life-time, some suspicion attached to Zwingli of being less orthodox, on the subject of the Trinity, than were most of his brother Reformers\* ; and though he succeeded, as

\* Calvin, too, was accused of heterodoxy, on this subject, by the Lutherans, and a book was published by Hutter, one of their most violent divines, to prove that Calvin “ had corrupted, in a detestable manner, the most illustrious passages and testimonies in the Holy Scriptures, relating to the most glorious Trinity, to the Godhead of Christ, and the Holy Spirit.”

The grounds of this charge against Calvin are to be



we are told, in vindicating himself, on this point, to Luther, I am inclined to believe, from the little ceremony with which, in so solemn a document, he classes the Saviour undistinguishingly with all this motley group of Saints and Demi-gods, that the suspicion of his heterodoxy, on the subject of Christ's divinity, was not without foundation. In truth, to a mind far less penetrating than that of Zwingli it could not fail to have been self-evident that the very same motive

found in the view taken by that Reformer of some of those prophecies and types of the Hebrew Scriptures which are, by most Christians, regarded as having reference to Christ, but which Calvin, anticipating the system of the Rationalists, applied solely to the temporal condition and prospects of the Jews. In noticing this mode of interpretation (which Professor Scratchenbach might have cited, among his instances of the *rationalizing* spirit of Protestantism) Mosheim thus speaks :—“ It must, however, be observed that some of these interpreters, and more especially Calvin, have been sharply censured for applying to the temporal state and circumstances of the Jews, several prophecies that point to the Messiah, and to the Christian dispensation in the most evident manner, and thus removing some of the most striking arguments in favour of the divinity of the Gospel.”

and principle on which he had acted in explaining away Transubstantiation—namely, that all which is unintelligible should be held to be incredible,—would lead, with equal certainty, to the overturn of the no less inexplicable enigma of the Trinity. It was on these grounds that the latter doctrine was attacked afterwards so successfully, by Socinus; and the two strong holds of mystery having thus fallen before the summons of Reason, all those other inroads into the ancient territory of Faith, which it has been my object to point out to you, have followed naturally in succession.”

## CHAPTER XVII.

Reflections.—Letter from Miss \* \*.—Marriages of the Reformers.—Æcolampadius.—Bucer.—Calvin and his Ideletta.—Luther and his Catharine de Bore.—Their Marriage Supper.—Hypocrisy of the Reformers.—Challenge at the Black Bear.—The War of the Sacrament.

THOSE among my readers to whom, from their previous unacquaintance with the subject, the picture that has just been given of the present state of Protestantism in Germany, comes with the same shock of novelty as it did, I confess, to myself, can alone form any adequate notion of the wonder, the incredulity, with which I listened to that summing up of the Protestants' creed of unbelief (as it is hardly a solecism to call it), which has been reported faithfully, as it fell from my instructor's own lips, in the concluding portion of his Lecture.

I had, it is true, been sufficiently prepared

by my knowledge of the earlier heresies,—those elder branches of the dark family of Simon Magus, the Valentinians, Marcionites, &c.—to expect all possible freaks of belief from a free, uncontrolled range of Reason through the Scriptures. But that I should find *unbelief* resulting, to such an extent, from the same licence of private judgment, was, though an equally natural consequence, by no means so clearly foreseen by me; nor could I help now calling to mind the remark of a clever Protestant writer,—a remark which when first I happened to light upon it, struck me as bordering on the extravagant, but to whose truth the fate that has attended Christianity, in the very *father-land* of the Reformation, bears but too awful a testimony,—namely, that “*the first step of separation from the Church of Rome was the first step to infidelity*\*.”

\* *Extracts from the Diary of a Lover of Literature.*—The intelligent author of this work, Mr. Green, lived in habits of intimacy with some of the most eminent men of the last half century. It is in speaking of Dryden’s poem of “the Hind and the Panther” that he says, “His Hind demonstrates—what I have often thought but

So incredible, however, did some of the details of this new *negative* code of Christianity appear to me, that I resolved to satisfy myself, by direct reference to some of the Professor's authorities, as to how far dependence might be placed on his very startling statements. With this view, declining, for a time, the honour of any further lectures from him, I applied myself sedulously to the study of all such Rationalist writers as were likely to aid me in forming a judgment respecting the nature of their system.

In this task, however, I was, before long, interrupted by a letter from Miss \*\*, in which, mixing up, as usual, sentiment and theology together, she entreated, as a special favour, that I would collect, for her Album, all such particulars as were on record, respecting "those heaven-favoured women who, in the first dawn of the Reformation, enjoyed the enviable distinction of being the wives of Reformers, and thus participating in the af-  
tremble to express—that the first step of separation from the Church of Rome was the first to Infidelity."

fection and sweetening the toils of the first labourers in that great and most goodly vineyard.”

Though my own romance on the subject had considerably abated, I lost no time in performing, to the best of my ability, this commission of my fair friend, whose exceeding zeal in all matters of theology (whatever might be her knowledge of them), entitled her fully to the eulogy passed by Bossuet on a learned *Réligieuse* of his time: “Il y a bien de la théologie sous la robe de cette femme.”

Beginning with *Œcolampadius*, the early friend of Erasmus\*, who was the first priest that took advantage of that era of liberty to provide himself with the lay luxury of a handsome young wife, I proceeded regularly through the list of all those who were induced to follow

\* For the share which Erasmus was supposed to have taken in preparing the way for the Reformation, the Lutherans acknowledged their gratitude, by having a picture painted “in which Luther and Hutten were represented carrying the ark of God and Erasmus dancing before them with all his might.”—*Critique de l'Apol. d'Érasme*, quoted by Jortin.

in so inviting a path. “Æcolampadius,” says Erasmus, in one of his letters, “has taken to himself a wife—a pretty young girl: he wants, I suppose, to mortify himself. Some call Lutheranism a tragedy; but I call it a comedy, where the distress generally ends in a wedding.”

Even the stern Calvin was not proof against this “primrose path of dalliance;” but, on the death of one M. de Bure, an Anabaptist whom he had converted, kindly followed up this spiritual service by espousing his widow\*.

Martin Bucer, who had been originally a Dominican friar, no sooner cast off his frock than he set about marrying, like the rest,—“et même *plus* que les autres,” says Bossuet, as it was the friar’s good fortune to become the husband of no less than three ladies in succession; one of whom (still more to heighten the zest of wrong) had been a nun †. This

\* The name of this lady was Ideletta.

† The nun is said to have borne him thirteen children. “C’eût été dommage (says Bayle) qu’une fille si propre à multiplier fût restée dans le couvent.”

extreme readiness to marry,—more especially on the part of ecclesiastic proselytes,—was regarded as a proof of heartiness in the cause of religious reform; while, on the other hand, any antiquated scruple at the thoughts of violating the most solemn vows, was held in suspicion, as a symptom of still lurking Popery\*.

With this sort of evidence of good Protestantism Martin Bucer was, as we have seen, amply provided; and one of his wives had been even more of a pluralist, in matrimony, than himself. By a singular run of good luck, too, this lady's marriages lay all in the Reforming line;—her first husband having

\* “Ce que M. de Meaux observe qu'en ce tems-là le mariage étoit une recommandation dans le parti, n'est pas entièrement faux; car il est certain qu'un ecclésiastique, qui ne se seroit point marié, eût fait naître des soupçons qu'il n'avoit pas renoncé au dogme de la loi du Célibat. Je crois que Bucer insinua cette raison à Calvin lorsqu'il le pressa de se marier.”—*Bayle*. So much was this the case at that period, that the Visitors appointed in the reign of Edward the Sixth exhorted all ecclesiastics to marry, as a sure sign of their abjuration of Popery.



been Ludovicus Cellarius; her second, the famous Œcolampadius, who had been a Brigittine monk; her third, Wolfgang Capito, one of the most active of the Reformers; and her fourth, the Dominican friar, and helping Apostle of the English Reformation, Martin Bucer. Knowing that the career of this fair promoter of Protestantism would be sure to interest my friend, Miss \* \*, exceedingly, I took care to set it forth as much in detail as my materials would allow of; pointing out particularly to her notice the sentimental incident of Œcolampadius's widow becoming also, in succession, the widow of his two most esteemed colleagues, Capito and Bucer.

Nor was the liberality of these Reformers, respecting marriage, confined solely to their own particular cases, but extended even more indulgently to the matrimonial propensities of others; and while three wives in succession were deemed by Bucer a sufficient privilege for himself, he allowed to the Landgrave of Hesse, in consideration of his great services,

to Protestantism, the right, somewhat less customary among Christians, of having *two* wives at a time. The Memorial addressed by this Prince to the Reformers, stating his reasons for requiring such a luxury, and the Dispensation granted, in consequence, signed by Luther, Melancthon, and Bucer\*, in which

\* He assured them that a second wife was quite necessary to his conscience, and that he would thereby be enabled "to live and die more gaily for the cause of the Gospel."!

In Bossuet (*liv. 6*) and Bayle (*art. Luther*) the reader will find all the particulars of this most disgraceful transaction, which, from the secrecy with which it was managed by the parties, remained for a long period unknown, till, at last, the publication of the curious documents connected with it, by the Elector Palatine, Charles Lewis, revealed the whole to the world. The motives of the three leading Reformers concerned in it for this most profligate concession are thus shrewdly touched on by Bayle; who, after giving some extracts from the Landgrave's Memorial, or Instruction, continues, " Il joignit à tout cela je ne sai *quelles menaces et quelles promesses, qui donnérent à penser à ses Casuistes*; car il y a beaucoup d'apparence que si un simple gentilhomme les eût consultés sur un pareil fait il n'eût rien obtenu d'eux. On peut donc s'imaginer raisonnablement qu'ils furent de

they allow to this great patron of their faith the additional wife he requires, form together as curious specimens of the *morality* of a religion of reason as an inquirer into the history of such creeds could desire.

But the great hero and heroine of my "Loves of the Reformers" were the mighty Martin himself and his fair Catharine de Bore. Commencing from the memorable Good Friday, when this lady, with eight other nuns, escaped, under the care of Leonard Koppen, from her convent\*, I showed how early Luther evinced that strong interest in her fate which led eventually to their union. For, not only did he defend Koppen's achievement, in carrying off the nine nuns, but even compared it † to

*petite foi: ils n'eurent pas la confiance qu'ils devoient avoir aux promesses de Jesus Christ; ils craignirent que si la Réformation d'Allemagne n'étoit soutenue par les Princes qui en faisoient profession, elle ne fût étouffée."*

\* The example of these nuns was followed by another batch, consisting of double the number, who, soon after, made their escape from the Monastery of Wedersteten.

† It is but fair to say that the reporter of this blasphemy is Cochlæus, who, from his exceeding violence against

that of Christ himself, in carrying away the Saints captive to Satan.

In tracing the history of the destined wife of Luther through the interval between this elopement and her marriage, I took care to avoid even an allusion to any of those scandalous and, as it would seem, false stories related by Maimbourg, Varillas, and others, respecting her conduct among the young students of Wittenberg. The curious circumstances, however, leading immediately to the marriage, I was enabled to give authentically as stated in those MSS. left by Luther's friend, Amsdorf, to which Seckendorf had access. From these it appears that Miss Catharine had, in a conversation with Amsdorf, complained that it was Luther's intention to marry her, against her will, to Doctor Glacius. She, therefore, begged of Amsdorf,

Luther, must be regarded as rather suspicious testimony. The following are the words in this writer:—" *Felicem raptorem sicut Christus raptor erat in mundo quando per mortem suam . . . . . et quidem opportunissimo tempore in Pascha quo Christus suorum quoque captivam duxit captivitatem.*"

knowing on what intimate terms he lived with Luther, to try and prevail upon his friend to choose some other husband for her; adding, that she was ready, at a minute's notice, to marry either Amsdorf or Luther himself, but, on no account, Doctor Glacius\*.

On this hint the Great Reformer spake; and, with a rapidity unexampled, (as if the vows pledged to keep them asunder but made them more impatient to come together)

\* Venit Catherina ad Nicolaum Amsdorffium, conqueriturque se de consilio Lutheri D. Glacio contra voluntatem suam nuptiis locandam: scire se Lutherum familiarissime uti Amsdorffio; itaque rogare ad quævis alia consilia Lutherum vocet. Vellet Lutherus, vellet Amsdorffius se paratam cum alterutro honestum inire matrimonium,—cum D. Glacio nullo modo.—*Seckendorf. Comment. de Lutheranism.*

This whole plan does much credit to the ingenuity of Miss Catharine, who was already well aware how much Luther admired her. There had, indeed, from the display and notoriety of the Reformer's fondness for her, arisen rumours not very creditable to either of the parties. To these rumours he himself alludes, in one of his letters,—“os obstruxi,” he says, “infamantibus me cum Catharina Borana”—and his warm advocate, Seckendorf, states without any reserve, that “he had wished exceedingly for the girl, and used to call her his Catharine”—“Optimè enim cupiebat virgini et suam vocare Catharinam solebat.”

—Miss Catharine de Bore became, almost on the instant, Madame Luther. Without a single hint of the matter to any of his friends, he invited a party to supper, consisting of the bride, a priest, a lawyer, and a painter, —the last attending professionally, as well as the others, being summoned to take the fair Catharine's portrait\*,—and in this apostolical manner was solemnized a marriage which, for a time, filled the ranks of Protestantism with dismay.

The deep concern of his friend, Melancthon, at this unseasonable event—his own consciousness of the shame and humiliation he had incurred, by a step which, as he himself bitterly said, would, he hoped, “make angels laugh and all the devils weep †,”—the reaction that followed so closely upon

\* The name of this painter was Carnachius, and an engraving from the best of his portraits of Catharine, was prefixed by M. Mayer, to his Dissertation “de Catharinâ, Lutheri conjugè,” for the express purpose of clearing Luther from the imputation of having married a *pretty* woman.

† Sic me vilem et contemptum his nuptiis feci, ut angelos ridere et omnes dæmones flere sperem.—*Epist. ad Spalat.*

this feeling of degradation, and the violent effort by which, regaining his own esteem, he soon succeeded in persuading himself that, after all, the finger of Providence was manifest in the whole affair, and it was “ God himself that had suggested to him to marry that nun, Catharine de Bore\*”—all these various struggles between conscience and passion afforded me scope for such alternations of light and shadow as, in the Memoir of a wedded Monk and Nun, could not fail to be turned strikingly to account.

To give a domestic interest, too, to the story, I took care to mix up with it a number of conjugal details, showing how happily, through all the war of creeds, this holy

\* *Dominus me subito aliaque cogitantem coniecit mirè in conjugium cum Catharina Borensi moniali illa.—Epist. ad Winc. Linc.* Even Melancthon, too, brought himself to think (or, at least, to say) that it was possible there might be “ something hidden and divine” under this marriage:—“ Isto enim sub negotio fortasse aliquid occulti et quiddam divinius subest!”—*Epist. ad Camerar.* Can infatuation or hypocrisy—for it must be one or the other—go farther?

*ménage* went on, and how much attached to his “girl,” as he fondly called her\*, the great Reformer continued to the last. With her, indeed, was always associated in his mind whatever he considered most precious and sacred; nor could he more satisfactorily to himself express his ardent admiration of St. Paul’s Epistle to the Galatians (his favourite portion of all Scripture) than by saying that “he had wedded himself to that Epistle, and that it was his Catharine de Bore †.”

The reader has by this time, I trust, come to know me somewhat too well to suppose that, light as may have been the tone in which I dwelt on these details, I was at all insensible

\* In boasting that the “wise men” of his party who were so angry at his marriage had been themselves forced to acknowledge the finger of God in the event, he thus expresses himself:—*Vehementer irritantur sapientes inter nostros; rem coguntur Dei fateri, sed personæ larva tam meæ quam puellæ illos dementat.*—*Lutheri Epist. ap Seckend.*

† *Epistola ad Galatas est mea Epistola cui me despondi —est mea Catharina de Bora.*



to their true and gross nature, or could feel otherwise than deeply disgusted at the scenes of vulgar self-indulgence and nauseous hypocrisy which this whole drama, to a near observer of the chief actors in it, exhibits. It was, indeed, with some difficulty, I contrived to hide, under a thin surface of pleasantry (such as any other eyes than those of my learned instructress would have seen through), the feeling of loathing with which I traced these mock Evangelists through their career,—with which I followed them to their homes, and through all their haunts and habits, and saw them come flushed from their “Table-talk,” and their thrice-transmitted wives, to tread down, like dogs and swine, the “holy things,” and “pearls” of the Faith.

The historian Hume has truly characterized the first Reformers as “fanatics” and “bigots;” but with no less justice might he have added, that they were, (with one exception, perhaps\*,) the coarsest

\* The one exception here made by my friend can be no other, of course, than Melancthon; yet, it would be diffi-

hypocrites\*; men, who, while professing the most high-flown sanctity in their writings, were, in their conduct, brutal, selfish, and unrestrainable; who, though pretending, in

cult, on considering the career of this amiable, but most irresolute man, to acquit him wholly of, at least, the duplicity of disguising his true opinions and lending the sanction of his countenance to measures which he disapproved. The sole circumstance of his upholding, in public, as correct documents of faith, both the Confession and the Apology, which he yet, in his private letters, mourns over, as containing errors and obscurities which it was most essential to amend, is, in itself, so culpable a sacrifice to the headlong spirit of party as nothing but the remorse which he himself felt for it can at all palliate or atone. It is true, his position was most trying; and but too aptly did he compare himself to “Daniel among the lions,” as never was gentle spirit surrounded by such uncongenial associates. But his approval of the atrocious crime of the burning of Servetus—how is this to be palliated? It was but in character for such men as Bucer and Farel to demand that the doubter of the Trinity should “have his bowels pulled out,” should “die ten thousand deaths;”—but Melancthon!

\* To this charge Bucer himself, the most hypocritical of the whole band, pleaded guilty. In a letter written to Calvin, during the victorious career of Charles V., he says “*God has punished us for the injury which we have done to his name by our long and most mischievous hypocrisy.*”

matters of faith, to adopt reason as their guide, were, in all things else, the slaves of the most vulgar superstition; and who, with the boasted right of judgment for ever on their lips, passed their lives in a course of mutual crimination and persecution, and transmitted the same warfare as an heirloom to their descendants. Yet, “these be thy Gods,” oh Protestantism!—these the coarse idols, which Heresy has set up in the niches of the Saints and Fathers of old, and whose names, like those of all former such idols\*,

\* From the very beginning of the Christian church this adoption of names derived from men,—such as Marcionites, Arians, Donatists, Lutherans, Calvinists, &c. has invariably been the badge of heretical strife and schism; some saying that they are of Paul, others that they are of Apollos, and others that they are of Cephas. “The Apostles (says Ephrem of Edessa) gave no names, and when it is done, there is a departure from their rule.”

How aptly may the words of St. Augustine to the Donatists be applied by a Catholic of the present day to that swarm of Calvinists, Arminians, Socinians, &c. who are opposed to him.—“*I am called Catholic, you are with Donatus.*”—Ego Catholica dicor et vos de Donati parte.—*Psalm. contra part. Donati.*

are worn, like brands, upon the foreheads of their worshippers.

How any Protestant that has ever examined, even but slightly, into the disgraceful history of that long series of wranglings, equivocations and frauds, which the attempt to understand, or rather to mystify, each other, on the one single doctrine of the Eucharist, gave rise to among the Reformers, can be content to have received his faith, at the hands of innovators at once so double-dealing and so clumsy, is to me a marvel unspeakable. The very commencement of this Sacramentarian warfare resembled far more the preliminaries of a horse-race than the solemn preparation for a controversy by which the faith of millions yet unborn was to be influenced. "I defy you," said Luther, haughtily, to Carlostadt, "to write against me on the Real Presence; and will even give you this gold florin, if you will undertake to do so." In saying thus, Luther took from his pocket a florin, which Carlostadt accepted and deposited in his own. They then shook hands on the challenge, and

swallowing down a bumper to each other's healths, the War of the Sacrament was thus, in the true German style, declared \*.

The scene of this memorable interview was at the Black Bear, where Luther lodged; and in such manner was it that the ineffable and adorable Mystery, which the Saints of other days knelt to, as the "hidden manna" of salvation, "the wisdom of God in a mystery," was started, as fit game to be hunted down, by this pair of challengers at the Black Bear!

So much for the decency of those new apostles of Christianity;—for their consistency, tolerance, good faith, and wisdom, let the whole history of that most disreputable controversy speak. In the very first attempt of the Lutherans at a regular Confession of Faith, no less than six different explanations of their doctrine, respecting the Eucharist (each announced as positively for the last

\* *Luther, T.* 2, *Jen.* 447. *Calix, Judic. n.* 49. *Hospin.* 2 *par. ad ann.* 1524. See Note at the end of the volume.

time of explaining) followed in quick succession; while the counter explanations, on the Sacramentarian side, were almost equally numerous.

Then came the wily and tortuous Bucer, as a mediator between the parties,—a mediator, by affecting to agree with both,—a reconciler, by misrepresenting each to the other; now inducing Luther to think that Calvin concurred in a Real Presence of Christ's body, while Calvin meant but some vague presence to the eye of faith, and in the sky; now persuading Calvin that Luther admitted the substance present to be spiritual, while, on the contrary, Luther held, as do the Catholics, that the miraculous presence in the Sacrament is spiritual only as to the manner, but corporeal as to the substance.

By such tricks and evasions did Bucer,—and, it is painful to add, Melancthon,—succeed in maintaining, for a time, a false and feverish truce between the parties. But arts so gross could not long continue to deceive; all compromise was found to be hollow and hope-

less, and, at last, the three great Eucharistic factions, the Lutheran, the Calvinian, and the Zwinglian, all broke loose in their respective directions of heresy,—each branch again subdividing itself into new factious distinctions, under the countless names of Panarii, Accidentarii, Corporarii, Arrabonarii, Tropistæ, Metamorphistæ, Iscariotistæ, Schwenkenfeldians, &c. &c. &c.—till, to such an extent did the caprice of Private Judgment carry its freaks, on this one solemn subject, that an author of Bellarmine's time (as that great man informs us) counted no less than two hundred different opinions on the words “This is my body !”

But the whole history of that period abounds with lessons full of melancholy warning; nor can any thing more strikingly impress us with the infatuation or ignorance of those persons who still cry out for “the Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible,” than thus to see that the very men who first raised that cry, and who held the Bible to be all-

sufficient for the discovery of divine truth, could yet fall into all this fierce and interminable discord about the meaning of a text consisting but of four simple words!



## CHAPTER XVIII.

Blasphemies of the Rationalists.—Sources of infidelity in Germany.—Absurdity of some of the Lutheran doctrines.—Impiety of those of Calvin.—Contempt for the authority of the Fathers.—Doctor Damman.—Decline of Calvinism.

IT required no very long or deep study of the chief oracles of Rationalism to convince me fully that, in the Professor's description of the present awful state of Protestantism in Germany, he had by no means exaggerated or over-coloured his picture. On the contrary, I found that his statements, however incredible they had at first appeared, were but a faint and diluted representation of the truth; and that, while, from the fear perhaps of giving alarm to so mere a neophyte in the school of Rationalism, he concealed from me more than half of the impieties of the system, he had also, for the honour of his supreme sove-

reign, Reason, thrown a veil over all its feebleness and its folly.

Had I wanted any thing, indeed, to prove, to my fullest conviction, how wholly misplaced is reasoning, on a subject where, if feeling and faith be not alive, all else is "of the earth, earthy," I should have found it in the pitiful exhibition which these men, otherwise so acute and learned, afford in their attempts to bring down the grand and awful wonders of Christianity to the level of their own finite and low-thoughted reason; nor between the example which they present of irreverent boldness, on such subjects, and the most stupid and superstitious acquiescence under belief, is there much more to choose than between the ass of the Egyptians, carrying gravely the Mysteries, and the same ass, in a fit of liveliness, trampling them clumsily under his feet.

With the more plausible features of that mere phantom of Christianity, which still wears the abused name of Protestantism, in Germany, the reader already has become

acquainted from the sketch given of its rise and progress by M. Scratchenbach; and, to go into details of the profane excess to which the system has been carried, would be a task, even had I left myself space for it, neither agreeable nor useful. To give some notion, however, of the tricks, in the way of theology and *exegesis*, which Fancy, under the demure mask of Reason, can play, I shall here string together, at hazard, a few of the leading results at which these inquirers into "the Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible" have arrived.

In the Old Testament, the history of the Creation, of Paradise, and of Adam and Eve, are nothing but allegories or myths. The Pentateuch, which may be looked upon as a sort of "Theocratic Epic," was not written by Moses, but compiled at a much later period; and Jehovah was but the Household God, or Fetiche, of the family of Abraham, which David, Solomon and the prophets afterwards promoted to the rank of Creator of all things. It is plain that Deuteronomy

could not have been the work of Moses, nor Ecclesiastes that of Solomon, as, in each case, it would suppose the author to have related his own decease. The Psalms were a sort of Anthology to which David and other writers contributed; and the productions of the chief contributor are thus criticised by a grave theologian, Augusti: "David's Muse takes no high flight, but he succeeds best in Songs and Elegies." By critics of the same school Esther is pronounced to be a Historical Romance, while Ruth, they say, was written for the purpose of proving David to have sprung from a good family, and the story of Jonah is but a repetition of the fable of Hercules swallowed by a sea-monster. As to the Prophets, the learned Eichorn allows them the credit of having been sharp, clever men, who saw further into futurity than their contemporaries; while others, assigning to them a decided political character, "make them out," says Mr. Rose, "to be demagogues and Radical Reformers." The Prophecy, in Isaiah, of the Fall of Babylon, was evidently

written by some one who was present at the siege; and the predictions, supposed to refer to Christ, in the same rhapsodies, relate to the fortunes and ultimate fate of the race of Prophets in general\*.

In the New Testament, the miraculous birth of Christ is to be ranked in the class of mythologic fictions, along with the stories of the incarnations of the Indian Gods,—and more especially that of Buddha's generation from a Virgin who had conceived him by a rainbow. The motive of Christ for giving himself out for a Prophet was that he might thereby have more weight, as a moral teacher; and, in like manner, he was induced afterwards to personate the Messiah † from the notion entertained by his admirers that he was that promised personage. According

\* “ There is a book by Scherer (a *clergyman* in Hesse Darmstadt), in which he represents the prophets of the Old Testament as so many Indian jugglers, who made use of the pretended inspiration of Moses and the revelations of the prophets to deceive the people.”—*Rose's State of Protestantism in Germany*.

† *Jesum personam Messiae suscepisse.*—*De Wette*.

to Wieland, Jesus Christ was a noble Jewish magician\*, who, on his own part, never conceived the least idea of being the founder of a Religion, and whose *Institute* only assumed the form of religion by time. Much of the obscurity, it is said, in which the doctrines of the New Testament are involved is owing to the stupidity and superstition of the Apostles, who misunderstood, in many instances, the language of their master †, and

\* A Prussian Rationalist has even improved (in the retrograde direction) upon this notion of Wieland. “ Il existe (says Stapfer) un livre publié en Prusse, dans des intentions pieuses, et dont le titre dit plus que les plus longs développemens historiques ne pourroient apprendre à ceux qui aiment à douter encore de l’empire des opinions Rationalistes en Allemagne; le voici—*Jesus Christ fut-il autre chose qu’un simple rabbin de campagne Juif?*” *Archives du Christianisme.*

† Etsi enim Apostolorum innocentiam, integritatem, pietatem, fervorem et ενδοσιασμον ea, qua par est, veneratione agnoscimus, dissimulare tamen non possumus fuisse eos non solum variis superstitionibus et falsis opinionibus imbutos, sed tamen indociles quoque et tardos, ut si Jesus paulo obscuriore loquendi genere uteretur, eum prorsus non intellerent.—*De Wette, de Morte Jesu Christi Expiatoria.*

whose gross misconception of his promises, as to a future kingdom, involved him in difficulties with his followers, from which he saw no other way of extricating himself honourably but by death\*.

It is painful thus to repeat,—even for the purpose of denouncing them,—profanations and blasphemies at once so daring and so frivolous. But a Reverend Protestant has

\* Voluit Jesus, veterum prophetarum more, morte sua doctrinæ veritatem profiteri, sperans fore ut difficultatibus quibus, se vivo, pressam videbat, morte sua superatis, victrix tamen illa evaderet, et vanis Messiæ opinionibus destructus, in hominum animos vim suam salutarem exsereret.—*De Wette*.

In considering what was the particular reading adopted by Christ of a passage in Daniel which he *accommodated* to himself, this writer coolly discusses our Saviour's qualifications for the task of interpreting the Old Testament,—saying that, though he could not, of course, be expected to know the new Grammatico-historical mode of interpretation, still it was impossible he could be so neglectful of the true meaning of the passage as to understand it in the manner attributed to him:—"Is enim in lectione Vet. Testamenti, licet *nostræ* exegeseos grammatico-historicæ rudis, contextus tamen non adeo negligens esse potuit, ut locum, &c. &c."

not shrunk from recording them in his pages, and a Catholic has, at least, one less reason for being ashamed of them.

The original source of all this flood of irreligion by which Protestantism has been swept away in Germany, and even Christianity herself seen her "foundations overflown," has, in the foregoing lecture of my German instructor, been clearly and irrefragably pointed out; nor is he a less valuable authority for the true source of the evil, because, by a perversion of moral vision, he regards it as a good, and, in the false pride of Illuminatism, even glories in results, over which every thinking Christian, of all sects, must mourn.

In one respect only can the view taken by the Professor of the causes of this great religious revolution be considered partial or imperfect. In the wish to claim for his favourite Zwingli the whole honour, as he deems it, of having, by the principle which he first applied to the interpretation of Scripture, led the way in this desecrating and



unchristianizing system, he has failed to do justice to the share which both Luther and Calvin contributed, in their several ways, to the same lamentable result ; nor, in showing how Zwingli set the example of undermining Christianity by the anti-mysterious and naturalizing cast of *his* doctrines, has sufficiently pointed out how his brethren of Geneva and Wittenberg conducted exactly to the same end by the absurdity of *theirs*.

We have already seen how revolting were some of those notions of Luther which, adopted, as they were, in all the wantonness of self-will, by himself, descended afterwards, under the abused name of doctrines, to his Church. Of one of these, the Ubiquity of the human nature of Christ,—an extravagance that has no parallel in the whole range of Gnosticism,—its author himself had, towards the close of his life, seen reason to be ashamed ; and, with his usual caprice, as well in dictating as in countermanding doctrines, had, in some of his later writings, wholly abandoned the notion. Already, however, had his name hallowed even this nonsense

to his followers ;—the Ubiquity had become a part and parcel of Lutheranism, and, as such, was to be maintained and wrangled for with the rest.

It was, in fact, *not* as articles of belief, but as badges of party, that any of these monstrous extravagances were clung to so obstinately. Torn up, as was the Lutheran Church, into a multiplicity of schism, every such dictum of their founder became the Shibboleth of a faction, and the more inconceivably absurd was its nature, the more desperate the fidelity with which it was defended. That this is no unfair or distorted representation of that Church, the pages of Mr. Pusey,—the historian, as he may be called, of the Decline and Fall of German Protestantism,—but too sufficiently testify. It is only surprising, indeed, that the reaction, in favour of insulted reason, to which, at last, this war of wordy sectarianism gave rise, did not much earlier take place, and most lamentable that they who, disgusted with this abuse of the name of religion, re-

jected the motley creed from whence such discord sprung, did not seek refuge at once in the haven of the ancient Church of Christ, whose "peace is as a river," instead of breaking off, it is to be feared, irrecoverably, into the vague void of Unbelief,—that sea without a shore!

The course of the Calvinistic branch of Protestantism in Germany was, in many respects, different from that of the Lutheran. Owing to their freedom, for a longer period, from fixed formularies of doctrine, there existed in their Church a far more comprehensive scheme of communion than among the Lutherans; and having less, therefore, of the exclusive spirit of formularism in their theology, they were proportionally more tolerant. They had, indeed, a spectacle for ever before them, in the rabid rancour of the sister Church towards themselves, which, though insulting and irritating, was, for the most part, by its outrageous absurdity, far more calculated to inspire disgust than any desire to retaliate. Such an amiable direction

had the family feeling between these two heresies taken that, by Lutheran preachers, the title of Antichrist was transferred from the Pope to Calvin, and in Lutheran Liturgies one of the petitions was, “ Repress the Turks, Papists, and Calvinists\*.”

But though it may be granted that the Reformed Church, as compared with the Lutheran, set an example far more becoming a Christian community, there was, on the other hand, in its whole spirit and principles, even more deeply laid mischief, and a still more unerring source of such demoralizing and Antichristian consequences as we see exhibited in the present state of Continental Protestantism. Not to dwell further on that rule of scriptural interpretation, so pliant for all purposes, which Calvin, alike with

\* “ In Swedish Pomerania, *where there were no Reformed*, an order from the local authorities, suspending declamations against them, and erasing from the Liturgy the petition, ‘ Repress the Turks, Papists, and Calvinists,’ was annulled by application to Stockholm; and the intermarriage of a Lutheran with a Reformed declared inadmissible.”  
*Pusey, Historical Inquiry.*

Zwingli and Socinus adopted, and which places the meaning of God's word at the mercy of man's sense, the very foundation of the creed of Calvinism involves notions of a Supreme Being the most disturbing, if not fatal to all genuine piety. If, as Hooker declares, "the seed of whatever perfect virtue groweth from us is a right opinion touching things divine," alas for the growth of virtue or charity in those who seek their model of "things divine" in the God of the Calvinists,—the deliberate preordainer of sin and ruin,—the Author of man's existence, temptation, and fall!

That most ancient and most melancholy of all mysteries, the Origin of Evil, must, as long as man suffers and thinks, continue to occupy, however needlessly, his mind. But to attempt to conjure up doctrine out of such a "mist of darkness,"—to speculate on the unrevealed decrees of God, and look for light where Himself has willed there should be none, is a task presumptuous as it is shadowy, vain as it is daring; and which, by mixing up the

speculations of philosophy with religion, introduces an element into the latter which never fails to explode, to its ruin. So aware were the Gnostics, in the midst of all their reveries, of the danger of holding forth a Supreme God as the author of evil, that they had recourse to the supposition of an inferior and malevolent Deity, on whom to rest all the responsibility of that mass of moral evil which the more impious Calvinist traces up to the one God himself!

Nor is it merely in the rash impiety of this doctrine that its mischief to the cause of Christianity lay, but also in the contempt for Christianity's earliest teachers which Calvin's adoption of it implied; he himself having avowed that, on this point, the Fathers of the three first centuries were opposed to him, and his more violent followers, Gomarus and others, even admitting that they were unsupported in it by Scripture.

The whole history, indeed, of the Predestinarian doctrine, from its first introduction by St. Augustine, is a subject well

worthy of study, as enabling us to track the course of so dark an error, through all the stages of its progress, growing more and more bloated and virulent as it advances, till at last, bursting with its own venom, it gradually dies away. Such, very nearly, has been the course and fate of the dark doctrine of Calvinism. Beginning, in a comparatively mild form with St. Augustine,—who himself had commenced with far other opinions, and was only led by the heat of controversy to lay the foundations of Calvinism\*,—it assumed, in the scheme of the Genevese Reformer, a more

\* When St. Augustine opposed the Manichæans (who held, with the Calvinists, that there are souls *necessarily* wicked), he advanced doctrines wholly different from those which he afterwards took up in opposition to Pelagius; and this latter *party* opinion has been his bequest to future times;—inflicting thereby an injury on Christianity (for even the Catholic Church did not wholly escape the infection) far greater than all his labours in her service can ever compensate. In rejecting Jansenism—an inoculation of this virus—from her Communion, the Church of Rome has got rid of the only slight taint of heresy that, in her course “immortal and unchanged,” the Milk white Hind has ever known.

rigid and damnatory shape; received some gloomier touches from his followers, Beza and Zanchius, and from thence on, deepening still its hue, as it passed through the hands of the fierce Franeker divines, reached the full consummation of its blasphemy and absurdity, under the auspices of the well-named Doctor *Dam-man*\*, at the memorable Synod of Dort.

At that point, however, the glory of Calvinism may be said to have touched its meridian, and the moment of complete triumph was but its first step towards decline. Even the Dutch, whose divines had principally contributed to this victory over common sense, refused; in most instances, to submit to the yoke of the victors; and, with that nimbleness which has ever characterized the Proteus, Protestantism, were

\* This Doctor Damman was one of the secretaries to the Synod, and of course an upholder of the high Dort doctrine that "none of the truly faithful can by any sins fall from the Grace of God."—Nulli verè fideles per ulla peccata possunt ex gratia Dei excidere.—*Damman. in Concordia.*



seen gliding away from the grasp of orthodoxy in the various forms of Universalists, Semi-Universalists, Supralapsarians, Sublapsarians,—like that model of the Re-forming Spirit, to which I have just alluded,—

Nec te decipiat centum mentita figuras,  
Sed preme quicquid erit; *dum quod fuit ante, Re-*  
*formet.*

In Geneva, the very cradle of all those monstrous doctrines which had been now decided, by the Maccoviuses and Dammans\*,

\* Of the frightful opinions of Maccovius and other Dort theologians I have already given some samples. One of the memorable decisions of this Synod was that “the children of unbelievers dying in their infancy are reprobate as well as their parents”—*Infantes infidelium morientes in infantiâ reprobatos esse statuimus.*—*Act. Synod. Dord.* This humane enactment is but a consequence of the same principle on which Predestinarians hold that the infants of godly persons are in the covenant of grace, together with their parents, and have therein “a federal interest.” The following is the impiously familiar manner in which the draft of agreement, as it may be called, for this covenant between God and the seed of believers is drawn up by one of the theologians of the sect:—“They (the

to be the true Christian and Protestant faith, that reaction which has since developed itself so signally, began already to appear; and the same recoil from fanaticism and absurdity which made her then *almost* Arminian, has since, in its further and natural operation, made her *all but* infidel.

In England, where, at this period, both Court and People were casting a "lingering look behind" towards their Mother Church\*, and where the authority, therefore, of the Fathers (bound up, as it is, essentially with Catholicism), was regarded still with rever-

infants) have true, real and proper interest and propriety in God. As they are *his*, so he is theirs. There is a mutual propriety and interest in each other. *They have God under an actual obligation, viz. of his promise, to improve and employ all his attributes for their good, benefit and advantage, according or in a way agreeable to the true tenor of the covenant, and of the various promises of it. They have a present interest in and right to salvation; and answerably, in case of their death, before a forfeiture be made of that their interest and right, they shall infallibly be saved.*—Whiston's *Primitive Doct. of Inf. Bap. revived.*

\* "I acknowledge (said James I., in a public speech to his Parliament, 1603) the Church of Rome to be our Mother Church."

ence, a system of doctrine so avowedly opposed as was that of Dort to those early oracles of the faith could hope for no very favourable reception. From that period, indeed, the Church of England may be said, in the words of the ever-memorable Hales\*, to have “bid John Calvin good night:”—and though my German Lecturer, in contrasting Calvin with Luther, assumed that the sectaries still bearing the name of the former maintain also his doctrines, it will be found that Calvinism, though still far from being (like its sister heresy, Lutheranism) extinct, has for a long time been shorn of its most baleful beams; insomuch that for one rigid adherent to the reprobatory branch of the creed of Geneva, there are now numbers of professed Calvinists who confine their belief to the sole doctrine of Election †, rejecting

\* This candid and simple-minded man went to Dort a Calvinist, but “at the well-pressing (as he himself tells us) of St. John, iii. 16, by Episcopus,—‘there’ (says he) ‘I bid John Calvin good night.’”

† “I am aware (says Bishop Tomline) that some persons now living who seem to glory in the name of Cal-

more charitably, I must say, than logically, its concomitant and consequence, Reprobation.

Such, rapidly traced, has been the course and fate of the two leading branches of the original Protestant creed; both dwindled away to mere shadows in those countries where they first took their rise,—or rather superseded there by a system hardly pretending to be Christian,—while, the only one of the two that still exists, in more than name, has abandoned all that constituted originally its essence, and, in England, is chiefly indebted for its distinctive character to that party spirit, which a Church, fenced round by human formularies, is always sure to generate.

vinists maintain the doctrine of Election and reject that of Reprobation. That this was not the system of Calvin himself will fully appear by the quotations from his works; and that it was not the system of the Calvinists at the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign will be equally evident from the first of the Lambeth articles, &c." *Refutation of Calvinism.*

“ Many Calvinists, both at home and abroad, including the principal American divines, reject the second leading article of the Calvinistic creed, and hold Universal Redemption.”—*Adams's Religious World Displayed.*

## CHAPTER XIX.

Rise of infidel opinions in Europe, soon after the Synod of Dort.—Lord Herbert, Hobbes, Spinoza.—Beginnings of Rationalism among Calvinists.—Bekker, Peyrère, Meyer.—Lutheran Church continued free from infidelity much longer than the Calvinian.

THE main object which I have had in view, in the historical sketch given in the preceding Chapter, is to show that, in the reaction produced among Protestants themselves, as well by the impious and irrational consequences of some of their own doctrines, as by the unchristian intolerance with which those doctrines had been enforced, lay one of the chief sources of that infidelity by which their Churches have since been deluged.

In further confirmation of this remark, we shall find that it was but a short time after the monstrous decisions of the Synod of Dort\*, that scepticism began openly to

\* “By way of argument to the following story, you will permit me to remind you that the Contra-remonstrants in

display itself, among professed Protestants, in different countries of Europe. It was then, in that dawn of the era of Rationalism, that Lord Herbert of Cherbury asserted the sufficiency and absolute perfection of the Religion of Nature ;—that Hobbes anticipated the German theologians of the present day in questioning the authenticity of the Old Testament and the divine authority of the New, and even let fall those seeds of doubt as to the existence of a Supreme Being, which, in the gloomy mind of his contemporary, Spinoza, soon ripened into Atheism.

the Synod of Dort condemned the lax opinions of the Remonstrants, concerning Original Sin and Free Will.

“ Two of their Divines (Contra-remonstrants) elated with victory, insulted a poor fellow who was a Remonstrant, and said, ‘ What were you thinking of with that grave face?’ ‘ I was thinking, gentlemen,’ said he, ‘ of a controverted question—Who was the author of sin? Adam shifted it off from himself and laid it to his wife; she laid it to the serpent; the serpent, who was then young and bashful, had not a word to say for himself; but afterwards, growing older and more audacious, he went to the Synod of Dort, and there he had the assurance to charge it upon God!’ ”—*Letters from the late Lord Chedworth to the Rev. Thomas Crompton.*

Already, too, at that same period, had a school of Divines, under the name of Rationals, appeared, whose principle it was to apply the touch-stone of reason to religion, and reject all that was not conformable to that capricious test\*. It is also confirmatory of what I have above remarked as to the share Calvinism had in producing these results, that Predestination was the very first doctrine on which these Socinians in disguise opened their batteries. As might be expected, too, it was among Calvinists that the reaction against their own creed commenced ; and thus has the same sect, by a fate common to all heresies, given birth to the two opposing extremes,—both to the fanaticism which first engrafted such errors on Christianity and the infidelity which tore up tree and graft together.

One of the first of these Calvinist sceptics was Bekker, a Dutch divine, who, attempting the same sort of alliance between Philosophy

\* See an account of this school of Theologians in Bayle's *Réponse aux Questions d'un Provincial*, c. 130.

and Religion which has been the means of bringing Christianity to its present state in Germany, employed the principles of Descartes to undermine some of the leading doctrines of Scripture. The account of the temptation of our first Parents, the agency of good and evil Spirits, the demoniac possessions in the New Testament, and the Temptation of our Saviour, were among the chief points on which this Rationalist Divine exercised his scepticism; and while his master, Calvin, besides that demoniac principle which he supposed lodged in every human breast, admitted also the direct influence of the Devil on human actions, his follower, Bekker, denies all agency of the Devil whatever, and (forestalling the shallow device of our modern Rationalists, so much as to leave them not even the credit of originality in wrong) resolves all those passages in the Old and New Testament, where the interposition of the Evil Spirit is described, into mere allegory and mythos.

To another Calvinist writer still earlier



(1655) the annals of Rationalism are indebted for a book which, though now long forgotten, produced, on its first appearance, such an explosion of indignation as could with difficulty be brought to stop short at the mere imprisonment of the author. Of this strange work\* the main object is to prove, from the 5th Chapter of St. Paul to the Romans, that there had existed nations and races of men before Adam, and that he was but called the first man, because with him the Law commenced.

In the course of his pretended proofs of this hypothesis, the author (a French Protestant, Peyrère) suggests solutions of some of the miracles of the Old Testament which approach nearer even than those of Bekker to the plain but clumsy mode of interpretation adopted by Paulus and other moderns. For instance, it was not necessary, he says, that the sun should retrograde because the shadow of the dial was put back for Hezekiah. Whatever miracle there was in the circum-

\* *Præadamitæ sive Exercitatio super versibus 12, 13, 14, cap. 5 Epist. Paul. ad Romanos.*

stance must be confined to the dial of Ahaz alone\*.

In the same manner, the sun standing still for Joshua was nothing more, he thinks, than that sort of optical delusion which is common in most hilly countries, at sunset, when, though the sun has gone down, its orb appears to be still stationary in the heavens †. The miracle in Deuteronomy of the clothes and shoes of the Israelites having been kept from “waxing old,” during their forty years in the wilderness, this author ridicules in almost the very same terms which were employed afterwards by Voltaire for the same purpose ‡;

\* Ponatur miraculum in horologio ipso, in horologio Achas, ut vult Scriptura; stabit miraculum suo loco—stabit natura suo ordine, nec fascinabitur intellectus præstigiis inanibus.

† Fulgor solis, sine sole ipso, et miraculo maximo superesset in atmosphærâ, vel regione vaporum illâ, quæ civitati Gabaonicæ, cæli et aëris medio, incubabat: Solis verò fulgor civitatem Gabaonicam et montem Gabaon verberaret, &c.—The author adds that he himself had often witnessed the same phenomenon among the mountains of Quercy, where he dwelt.

‡ Quod de calceamentis eorum itidem dejerant, nullâ unquam vetustate fuisse consumpta, atque adeò ubi pri-

and the whole miracle is, he thinks, to be accounted for by the supplies of materials for making clothing which the Israelites derived from their flocks and other natural sources. From the plea set forth by this author in defence of his own impiety,—that he had been led to such doctrine “by *the principle of Protestants*,”—we may see how clearly, even at that time, the natural tendency of Protestantism to gravitate towards infidelity, was not merely prognosticated, but felt.

There is yet another work of the same period (1666), which both its title and the circumstance of its being republished by Semler, sufficiently announce as one of the harbingers of that infidel school of which Semler was the founder. I allude to the once celebrated work, “*Philosophy, the Interpreter of Scripture*,”

*mum induxissent calceos infantibus crescentibus infantum pedibus, crevisse eorum calceos.*—“Non seulement (says Voltaire) les habits des Hebreux ne s’usèrent point dans leur marche de quarante années, au soleil et à la pluie, et en couchant sur la dure, mais que ceux des enfans croissaient avec eux, et s’élargissaient merveilleusement, à mesure qu’ils avançaient en âge.”

which, on its first appearance, was attributed to the notorious Spinoza, but proved afterwards to have come from the pen of his friend and physician, Lewis Meyer.

In subtlety as well as in mischief, this Amsterdam Rationalist was a fit forerunner of the present race of Protestant sceptics; and the following specimen of his work will at once show its insidious nature, and prove,—what frequently I have endeavoured to impress upon my reader,—the great triumph it has been for infidelity, by the avowal of infidels themselves, to have been able, by philosophizing away the mystery of the Real Presence, to open a way for the subversion of all mysteries whatever. “There are (says this pupil of Spinoza) three Mysteries, of which Philosophy alone can properly be the interpreter; and these are 1. God,—2. the Real Presence,—3. the Trinity. The second of these, the Reformed Church has already disposed of,—showing, by the aid of Philosophy, that her own opinion, on the subject, is the true one, and that of the Catholics and Lutherans,

absurd.” With a silence, then, but too significant, as to the first of the three Mysteries on his list, he proceeds to apply to the third the mode of philosophizing which had been so successful with the second\*.

Having traced thus far the progress of that Anti-christian principle, which deriving its

\* Of the discussion, respecting the mystery of the Trinity, he says—“ Quanto sanè satius fuisset illam pro mysterio *non* habuisse, et philosophiæ ope, antequam *quod* esset statuerent, secundum veræ logices præcepta, *quid* esset cum Cl. Kekkermanno investigasse.”

That the absurdities of theology have been, at all times, the food and fuel of scepticism cannot be more clearly proved than by the use which this writer makes of the monstrous notion broached by some Protestant divines, that God intentionally gave double meanings to some of the precepts of his Word, and rather *wished* that they should be misunderstood by those to whom he addressed them. Such is the doctrine advanced in a passage of Wolzous which he cites :—“ Quandoque Deus, ut dubios et suspensos relinquat, vel ipsos eos, quos sufficienti gratiâ spiritus donavit, ut quæcunque ex illâ tunc oratione hauriri possint, eliciant, non tamen omnem eliciant veritatem: orationem enim volvat et revolvat centies, sit vacuus præconceptis opinionibus, omnia examinet, quæ usus linguæ requirit, ut intuenti textum nil appareat esse neglectum, *noluit tamen hoc tempore intelligi Deus, imò voluit permittere ut aliquantisper erraretur.*”

origin from the very foundations of Protestantism itself, has since branched out in a multiplicity of names and shapes, and is, at this moment, under its most recent and apparently last disguise, employed in spiriting away the substance of Christianity, in every country where the Reformation has taken root, I shall now, for the further descending steps of the pedigree of this principle, more especially in that country where its effects are most conspicuous, refer to the pages of a writer whose authority I have frequently had to adduce, Mr. Pusey. The ability and research with which this gentleman has traced, through all its stages, that "gradual descent (as he expresses it) of Theology into a system of unbelief," which marked the course of the German Church, during the eighteenth century, can admit of no dissentient opinion. It is only to be regretted that, by confining himself exclusively to the Lutheran branch of Protestantism, he has lost the still stronger illustrations of his subject which the career of Calvinism would so strikingly have supplied ;

and it is, in some measure, to remedy this very important omission that those instances of the progress of Rationalism among Calvinists, which I have just laid before the reader, were collected.

There would be no difficulty, indeed, in showing that, from the very first, a disposition to unbelief was far more prevalent among the members of the Reformed Church than of the Lutheran; and the names of Lælius Socinus, Gentilis, Ochinus and others prove how early Geneva began to produce its natural fruits. Without ascending any higher, however, than the middle of the seventeenth century, we have seen that at a time when the Lutheran Church was still immersed in all the absurdities of its theology,—wrangling, tooth and nail, *against* Good Works and *for* the Ubiquity of Christ's manhood,—the process of reasoning away all Christian doctrine whatever had already commenced among the Calvinists;—that long before any of those critics and scholars were born, to whom Mr. Pusey assigns the first origin of Rationalism, its most

distinguishing features and principles had been anticipated; and that the very subject of Demoniacal Possessions, upon which Semler commenced his rationalizing career, had been turned by Bekker to the same sceptical purposes more than half a century before.



## CHAPTER XX.

Return to England.—Inquiry into the history of English Protestantism.—Its close similarity to the history of German Protestantism.—Selfishness and hypocrisy of the first Reformers in both countries.—Variations of creed.—Persecutions and burnings.—Recantations of Cranmer, Latimer, &c.—Effects of the Reformation in demoralizing the people.—Proofs from German and English writers.

THEY show, or, at least, used to show, in the library of the Abbey of St. Anthony, in Dauphiné, an original letter of Erasmus\*, in which that great man declares that he would sooner suffer himself to be cut to pieces than not believe in the reality of the body and blood in the Sacrament. Without pretending to more of the spirit of a martyr than I am likely to be called upon to exercise, and confining my heroism, too, within bounds proportionate to the immense distance between my humble self and Eras-

\* *Voyage Littéraire de deux Religieux Benedictins.*

mus, I shall here merely communicate to my reader that I had now come to the unanimous determination to prefer Popery and poverty, for the remainder of my days, to the alternative of Protestantism and £2000 a year, with Miss \* \*, at Ballymudragget.

After remaining some months longer in Germany, I prepared to set out for England, —having passed the latter part of my time in society much more suited to my tastes than that of the Scratchenbachs of the University, namely, some quiet and intelligent Catholic families, whom I found in the midst of this wreck of all other creeds, pursuing tranquilly and implicitly the very same paths of faith which their Church has now trodden for near two thousand years. It is, indeed, a most impressive spectacle, which the state of Germany, at this moment, presents; divided,—according to Mr. Southey’s concise and pithy description,—“between the old religion, on one side, and the new *irreligion* on the other\*.”

\* *Colloquies, &c.*

The sagacious prediction of Bayle that a day would yet arrive when the Lutherans, no longer finding their creed in the Augsburg Confession, would "put all matters again on their former footing" is now in a fair train for accomplishment; as already numbers of Protestants, disgusted at the unchristian mockery of their own miscalled churches, have embraced the faith of Rome, with every prospect of their example being still more extensively followed. It is, in fact, the alarm produced by these desertions to the Catholic Church that has chiefly caused that apparent reaction, in favour of Christianity, which has been, of late, observable in Germany, as well as those retractions of their former blasphemies which the De Wettes and Bretschneiders have, with so little appearance, I must say, of sincerity\*, been hastening to proffer to the public.

\* Though professing, as it seems, to recant their former sceptical notions, both these writers have republished, and with but little alteration, the very works which contained them; and in the Preface which De Wette has prefixed to the second edition of his "De Morte expiatoriâ, &c." we find little more than a sort of apology

On my arrival in England, finding my taste for theological reading return, I was glad to avail myself of the few months of leisure I had yet at command, and immediately proceeded to inquire into the state and history of Protestantism in that country, quite as zealously as I had pursued the similar line of study in Germany. Not that there hung even the *penumbra* of a doubt round the conclusions at which I had now arrived; but, having carried thus far the researches which I had been induced to enter upon, it was naturally my wish to collect such materials, respecting the English Church, as would enable me to complete the Panorama of Protestantism which I had commenced. Having now, however, nearly filled up the canvas which I had allotted for the sketch contained in these volumes, I must reserve the picture which I had prepared of the English Reformation for some future opportunity.

In the meantime, I shall here briefly call for his unchristian assertion that "Jesus took upon himself to personate the Messiah."

attention to a few ominous resemblances which, on comparing the course of English with that of German Protestantism could not but strike me as existing strongly between them,—so strongly as scarce to warrant even a hope that two systems so kindred in their origin and tendencies could lead ultimately to any other than kindred results. The same selfishness and hypocrisy which marked the movers of the German Reformation are seen but in more intense and revolting activity among the founders of the same faith in England\*. The high stations, indeed, of the principal actors on the latter scene, gave proportion-

\* The writer of an article in the *Edinburgh Review*, upon Mr. Hallam's admirable work, the *Constitutional History*, thus truly describes the founders of the English Reformation:—"A king, whose character may be best described by saying, that he was despotism itself personified; unprincipled ministers; a rapacious aristocracy; a servile parliament. Such were the instruments by which England was delivered from the yoke of Rome. The work which had been begun by Henry, the murderer of his wives, was continued by Somerset, the murderer of his brother, and completed by Elizabeth, the murderer of her guest."—*Edinburgh Review*.

ately more impulse and opportunity to such vices; and, while in Henry VIII. we find all the temperament of a Luther let loose, as it were, upon a throne, so in Cranmer all the suppleness and hypocrisy of a Bucer were, by the constant demands upon him for these qualities, multiplied a hundred fold\*.

Even the subservience shown by the Reformers of both countries to the gross passions of their royal patrons will be found to have been marked by the same comparative degrees of baseness; for while, on the one hand, the licentious bigamy of the Landgrave of Hesse,—licentious, but at least bloodless,—received the sanction, under their own sig-

\* It is not a little curious to observe that, in the same manner as the violence and intolerance of Luther were inherited amply by his Church, so the hypocrisy and servile spirit of Cranmer have survived to this day in that Establishment of which he was a founder; and, in no instance, perhaps, has the hypocritical taint, thus entailed, been more strikingly exhibited than in those vindications of his (Cranmer's) own character, which, in defiance of all truth and decency, even such respectable divines as the Rev. Mr. Todd think themselves bound, for the sake and interests of their order, to undertake.

natures, of Luther, Bucer, and Melancthon, on the other, the murderous marriages of Henry VIII. were not only connived at, but concerted, by those still more obsequious tools of Royal Reformation, Cranmer and Cromwell\*.

The changes of doctrine through which, in both countries, the new creed had to transmigrate, form another of those points of resemblance which force themselves on our attention; and, as if, even then, the founders of Protestantism had a sort of prescient consciousness that their Church, in “fame of in-

\* The writer of the article in the *Edinburgh Review*, above referred to,—an article written with a power of thought and style which leaves no doubt as to the masterly hand from which it came,—thus speaks of Cranmer:—“Intolerance is always bad; but the sanguinary intolerance of a man who thus wavered in his creed creates a loathing to which it is difficult to give vent without calling foul names. Equally false to political and to religious obligations, he was first the tool of Somerset and then of Northumberland. When the former wished to put his own brother to death, without even the form of a trial, he found a ready instrument in Cranmer,” &c. &c.

stability," would rival even Delos\*, a provision for future changes, according as occasion might require, was expressly stipulated for by Melancthon, and, in England, formed the subject of that prospective declaration to which the obedient bishops of Henry VIII. did not hesitate to pledge themselves.

That among the first English Reformers there should have been so little of that contentious spirit which rendered theology such an arena of discord among the Germans is a fact easily, but disgracefully, to be accounted for by the self-prostration of the English Church before the throne, which left her no will or opinion but at the beck of the monarch, no alternative but to believe whatever he dictated and be silent †.

To the same slavish self-abasement, is to be

\* — Nec instabili famâ superabere Delo.—*Stat.*

† So far did the Church of England carry the slavish principle on which she commenced her course, that, on the death of Henry VIII., Cranmer surrendered his archiepiscopal authority to the infant monarch, and received it back at his hands.



attributed that facility in recanting and abjuring which some of the most eminent of the English Divines, by frequent practice, acquired; the specious Cranmer having subscribed no less than six recantations; while Latimer even exceeded, by two or three, that number. Still more disgusting was the spectacle which these dissemblers presented in acting as persecutors for the cause which in secret they hated, and condemning wretches to the flames for opinions with which, in their hearts, they agreed.

In this monstrous combination of insincerity with cruelty lies the distinction between the English and Helvetian persecutors; for, though these latter champions of the right of private judgment condemned Servetus to the flames, and sent Gentilis and Gruet to the block, it was, at least, for opinions which they themselves held to be heretical and impious. But the code of persecution had yet to furnish a still more notable precedent; and for those Saints of the English Church, Latimer and Cranmer, it was reserved to sit as

accessories to the burning of Christians for opinions which they, the burners, approved!

While such were the moral fruits of the Reformation, as displayed in its leading authors and teachers, the effect which it produced on the people at large could not be expected to have been of a more salutary character. Accordingly, the descriptions given by eminent Protestant writers, both English and German, of the state of morality in their respective countries, during the first century of this great change, bear, upon every essential point, such similarity to each other, as leaves not a doubt of the common origin of the evils of which they complain.

To begin with the Germans.—Throughout the writings of the admirable Andrea, a man who, to use the language of Herder\*, “bloomed like a rose among thorns,” we find the most bitter complaints of the flagrant corruption of his times. “Idols,” he says, “have been cast out, but the idols of sins are worshipped. The primacy of the Pope is

\* Quoted by Mr. Pusey.

denied, but we constitute lesser Popes. The Bishops are abrogated, but ministers are still introduced or cast out, at will. Simony came into disrepute, but who now rejects a purse of gold? The monks were reproached for indolence,—as if there were too much study at our Universities. The monasteries were dissolved,—to stand empty, or to be stalls for cattle. The regularly recurring prayers are abolished,—yet so that now most pray not at all. The public fasts were laid aside,—now the commands of Christ are held to be but useless words; not to say any thing of blasphemers, adulterers, extortioners, &c\*.” Another writer, Walch, acknowledges that “the complaints of

\* In another place, Andrea says, “he who knows the avarice of the clergy and their unbridled life, will not be astonished that they no longer stand in that respect with the people which were fitting.” If we may believe this pious and conscientious writer, Luther himself foresaw, or rather already experienced, the baleful consequences of the creed which he yet so rashly preached. “No complaints,” says Andrea, “more often occur to me than those of that divine man (Luther) *who foresaw the licence of the Evangelic Church, and whose pen, unconquerable by all his enemies, almost sunk under the dissoluteness of his followers, and the specious pretext of the Gospel.*”

the sunken state of Christianity, and the corruption of the clergy, were not exaggerated ;” and Carpzoff, in speaking of the efforts of the pious Spener to amend “ the stiff-neckedness of that godless age,” says, “ I praise the attempt, I add my wishes ; but I despair of success, on account of the desperate depravity of these last times.”

By the side of these strong testimonies to the demoralizing effect of the Reformation in Germany, I shall here place two passages, describing its results in England, from no less authorities than Camden and Burnet :— “ Sacrilegious avarice (says Camden, in speaking of the time of Edward VI.) ravenously invaded Church livings, colleges, chauntries, hospitals, and places dedicated to the poor, as things superfluous. Ambition and emulation among the nobility, presumption and disobedience among the common people, grew so extravagant, that England seemed to be in a downright frenzy\*.”

Not less strong, to the same purport, is

\* *Camden, Introduction to the Annals of Queen Elizabeth.*

Burnet:—"This gross and insatiable scramble after the goods and wealth that had been dedicated to good designs, without the applying any part of it to promote the good of the gospel, the instruction of the poor, made all people conclude that it was for robbery and not for reformation that their zeal made them so active. The irregular and immoral lives of many of the professors of the gospel gave their enemies great advantage to say, that they ran away from confession, penance, fasting, and prayer, only to be under no restraint, and to indulge themselves in a licentious and dissolute course of life\*. By these things, that were but too visible in some of the most eminent among them, the people were much alienated from them; and, as much as they were formerly against Popery, they grew to have kinder thoughts of it, and to look on all the changes that had been made

\* Almost word for word, the very language employed by Bucer, in describing the effects of the Reformation in Germany.—See the passage extracted from his *De Regn. Christ.* p. 131 of this Volume.

as designs to enrich some vicious characters, and to let in an inundation of vice and wickedness upon the nation\*.”

We have seen with what slowness and reluctance the great mystery of the Real Presence was surrendered by almost all the Continental Reformers,—Luther himself, with all his efforts, being unable to cast it off †, and

\* *Hist. of the Reformation.*—To these undeniable testimonies may be added that of Strype:—“The Churchmen heaped up many benefices upon themselves, and resided upon none, neglecting their cures; many of them alienated their lands, made unreasonable leases, and wastes of their woods; granted reversions and advowsons to their wives and children, or to others for their use. Churches ran greatly into dilapidations and decays, and were kept nasty and undecent for God’s worship. Among the Laity there was little devotion;—the Lord’s Day greatly profaned and little observed, the common prayers not frequented. Some lived without any service of God at all. Many were mere heathens and atheists;—the Queen’s own court an harbour for Epicures and Atheists, and a kind of lawless place, because it stood in no parish.”—*Life of Parker.*

† Luther became, indeed, even more Popish, on this point, before his death; and in a Thesis published by him, against the Doctors of Louvain, in 1545 (but a year before he died), called the Eucharist “the *adorable* Sacrament;”

Melancthon, though, in his latter days, inclined to Sacramentarianism, yet leaving undisturbed in the Protestant formularies of faith, those affirmations of the ancient doctrine which his own hand had there recorded; while Calvin, in order to disguise the extent of his innovation, threw such ambiguity of phrase round his *rejection* of a Real Presence as enabled Bucer to pretend that it was meant as an *acceptance* of it\*.

—to the no small consternation of the Sacramentarians, whom he had delighted by abolishing the Elevation, and whom, therefore, this inconsistent admission but the more thoroughly confounded. Calvin writes to Bucer, on the occasion, “He has lifted up the idol in the temple of God.”

\* We find a similar style of mystification still resorted to by those few Protestant controvertists, who, in order to maintain some little consistency with the Church of England catechism, affect to uphold a Real Presence. Thus the theologians of the British Critic insist that “a Real Presence is the doctrine of the Church of England;”—while Mr. Faber talks of “a change in the elements,—a *moral* change.” All this, however, is but a mere stale repetition of the old trick of Heresy, —“speaking the same things, but meaning them differently,” ὁμοια μὲν λαλοῦντες, ἀνομοια δὲ φρονοῦντες. In such manner was it, as Irenæus tells us, that the first Gnostics

A similar reluctance to part with this vital doctrine was manifested through a very long period in England. Under Henry VIII. the zeal of both monarch and church for its maintenance was shown by their burning all those who dared openly to dissent from it; and in the following reign, we find even the introducer of Zwinglianism, Peter Martyr, allowing, as Fox tells us, “a change of substance of bread and wine\*.”

In the reign of Elizabeth, who was herself supposed to favour this doctrine, a paragraph added to the 28th Article in the time of Edward VI., and declaring expressly against a Real Presence was, by her desire, suppressed †. “She inclined,” says Burnet, “to proceeded,—using the same language with the orthodox Church, but thinking differently.

\* At one of the disputations held between Protestants and Catholics, during the reign of Edward the Sixth, the Real Presence was asserted by the advocate of the Protestant cause, Mr. Perne, who said, “We deny nothing less than his presence, or the absence of his substance in the bread.” At this deputation Ridley presided.

† The following is the paragraph:—“Forasmuch as the truth of man’s nature requireth that the body of one and



have the manner of Christ's presence in the Sacrament left in some general words, that those who believed the Corporal Presence might not be driven away from the Church by too nice an explanation of it."

Even at so late a period as during the reigns of James I. and his successor, the language of many most eminent Prelates, respecting this Sacrament, differed but little from that of Catholics themselves upon the subject. "We *adore*, with Ambrose\*," says

the self-same man cannot be, at one time, in divers places, but must needs be in one certain place, therefore the body of Christ cannot be, at one time, in many and divers places, and because, as Holy Scripture doth teach, Christ was taken up into heaven, and there shall continue unto the end of the world, a faithful man ought not either to believe or openly confess the Real and Bodily Presence, as they term it, of Christ's flesh and blood in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper."

In explaining the Protestant meaning of a Real Presence, Gilbert says, "In this sense, it is innocent of itself and may be lawfully used; though perhaps it were more cautiously done not to use it, since advantages have been taken of it to urge it further than we intend it."

\* Nos verò in mysteriis Carnem Christi adoramus cum Ambrosio. *Answer to Bellarmine's Apology*.—When it

Bishop Andrews, “the flesh of Christ in the Mysteries.” The same divine, addressing Bellarmine, and professing to answer as well for King James as for himself, says, “We believe a Presence no less true than that which you yourself believe\*.” Archbishop Laud drew from the Reality of the Presence a reason for reverence to the altar, as being, “upon this account, the greatest place of God’s residence upon earth;” and Bishop Forbes declares it to be “a frightful error in those rigid Protestants who deny that Christ is to be adored in the Eucharist †.” Thus, too, Bishop Cousin, in his History of Transubstantiation:—“Al- is recollected that St. Ambrose upheld, in its highest Catholic sense, the doctrine of Transubstantiation, the strength of this declaration of Bishop Andrews will be the more fully appreciated. See the extract which I have given from *Clarke’s Ecclesiastical Literature*, vol. i. p. 168.—“In doctrine,” says this learned Protestant writer, “St. Ambrose is all that Rome could wish him.”

\* *Præsentiam, inquam, credimus, nec minus quam vos veram.*—*Answer to Bellarmine.*

† *Immanis est rigororum Protestantium error qui negant Christum in Eucharistia esse adorandum nisi adoratione interna et mentali, non autem externo aliquo ritu, &c. &c.*—*De Eucharist.*

though it seems incredible that in so great a distance of place Christ's flesh should come to us to be our food, yet we must remember how much the power of the Holy Spirit is above our understanding, and how foolish it is to measure his immensity by our capacity\*."

\* The testimonies of Hooker and Jeremy Taylor, on this subject, though well known, are of too much importance not to be added to the above authorities. "I wish," says Hooker, "men would give themselves more time to meditate with silence on what we have in the Sacrament, and less to dispute on the manner How. Sith we all agree that Christ by the Sacrament doth really and truly perform in us his promise, why do we vainly trouble ourselves with so fierce contentions, *whether by consubstantiation, or else transubstantiation?*"—*Ecclesiastical Polity*.

The passage from Jeremy Taylor is of still more value, as being not merely a record of the opinion of so eminent a divine, on this point, but also a vindication of the Catholics from the charge of idolatry in their adoration of the Presence. "The object of their (the Catholics') adoration in the Sacrament is the only true and eternal God hypostatically united with his holy humanity, which humanity they believe actually present under the veil of the Sacrament; and if they thought him not present, they are so far from worshipping the bread, that they profess it idolatry to do so."—*Liberty of Prophecyng*. It is usual to contrast with this passage of Bishop Taylor another, of

Still later, in the time of Charles II., we find, in the Exposition of the amiable and pious Bishop Ken, the following impressive sentences:—"Oh God Incarnate, how thou canst give us thy flesh to eat and thy blood to drink; how thy flesh is meat, indeed; how thou, who art in heaven, art present on the altar, I can by no means explain; but I firmly believe it all, because Thou hast said it, and I firmly rely on thy love and thy omnipotence to make good thy word, though the manner of doing it I cannot comprehend."

The Catholic belief of a sacrificial offering

apparently different import, from a later work of the same eminent man, entitled "Dissuasive from Popery." But those who compare the laboured language in which his latter opinion is conveyed with the simple, clear enunciation of doctrine just cited, can little doubt as to *which* of the two passages they would select as the true record of his views. A man who expresses himself in the following scholastic fashion can hardly escape the suspicion of being actuated by a wish to deceive either himself or others:—"In calling it Corpus Spirituale, the word Spirituale is not a substantial predicate, but is an affirmation of the manner; though, in disputation, it be made the predicate of a proposition, and the opposite member of a distinction."—*Dissuasive from Popery.*

in the Eucharist was even more extensively, at the period of which I have been speaking, prevalent among Protestants; and, among others, the profound scholar, Joseph Mede, lent the high sanction of his authority\* to this doctrine. In answering the famous Calvinist, Twisse, who had said that there was

\* In maintaining a *proper* and *material* Sacrifice in the Eucharist, Mede was followed by another great scholar, in the same walk of learning, Doctor Grabe, who even composed a Liturgy, for his own use, in which the ancient prayer, founded on this doctrine, was restored. So great a concession to the Catholics could not but excite alarm among their opponents; and accordingly this opinion of Mede and Grabe was strongly censured, as an acknowledgment of the Sacrifice of the Mass, by Buddeus, Ittigius, Deylingius, and other continental divines.

Embarrassed thus between the fear of favouring Popery, on one side, and the irresistibly strong language of the Fathers, on the other, some of the most eminent of the English theologians, and, among others, Cudworth and Waterland, while they deny any proper or material Sacrifice in the Eucharist, go so far as to admit it to be a *symbolical* feast upon a Sacrifice; that is to say, (as Waterland explains it,) “upon the Grand Sacrifice itself commemorated under certain Symbols.” Such are the pitiable evasions of evidence and authority to which Protestants are compelled, by their schismatic position, to have recourse!

but little evidence for the Eucharistic Sacrifice in antiquity, Mede asks, "*What is there in Christianity for which more antiquity may be brought than for this? I speak not now of the Fathers' meaning (whether I guessed rightly at it or not), but in general of their notion of a Sacrifice in the Eucharist. If there is little antiquity in this, there is no antiquity for any thing.*" He then quotes, as confirmatory of his own opinion, the candid avowal prefixed by Bishop Morton to his work on the Eucharist,—“ We freely acknowledge the fact that there is frequent mention made by the Ancient Fathers of the bloodless sacrifice of the body of Christ in the Eucharist.”

Such attestations to the truth of the Catholic doctrine on this point, particularly from a Protestant so versed in Christian antiquity as Mede, cannot but be considered highly important\*; and the following passage,

\* So insurmountable is the evidence for the early date of the Sacrifice of the Mass, that Hospinian, the Protestant historian, is forced to attribute to the devil the

from his letter to Twisse, contains, in a few pregnant sentences, the whole pith of what I have been endeavouring, throughout these pages, to inculcate:—" Yet, one thing more: *it is no time now to slight the Catholic consent of the Church in her first ages, when Socinianism grows so fast on the rejection thereof,* nor to abhor so much the notion of a Commemorative Sacrifice in the Eucharist when we shall meet with those who will deny the death of Christ upon the cross to have been a sacrifice for sin.—*Verbum intelligenti.* There may be here some matter of importance."

But, to return to my parallel.—The bitter discord between the Lutheran and Calvinist

introduction of such Popish abominations in the very lifetime, as he owns, of the Apostles themselves!—" Even in that first age," says this writer, " whilst the Apostles were still alive, the devil had the audacity to lie in ambush, under this Sacrament, more than under that of Baptism, and gradually seduced men from that primitive form." Sebastianus Francus, too, allows that, " Immediately after the time of the Apostles, all things were inverted,—the *Lord's Supper was transformed into a Sacrifice.*"

Churches which, if it did not produce, at least deepened and prolonged the horrors of the Thirty Years' War, finds no unapt counterpart in the long struggle between the Church of England and the Puritans, and that fierce civil war which ensued. This similarity, as well in causes as effects, on both sides, was not likely to escape the observation of Mr. Pusey, who, in showing how much of the irreligion of Germany is to be attributed to the English infidel writers of the seventeenth century, traces the origin of this infidelity, in England itself, to "the sunken state of Christianity through the civil wars, and the controversies of embittered parties." Nothing, indeed, could well be more calculated to bring religion itself into disrepute, than thus to see two great nations torn up by internal faction and hate, on points of difference, to which, at this day, no rational mind can look back, without a mixed feeling of sorrow, ridicule, and wonder.

But, however absurd were most of the doctrines about which the German Churches



wrangled so furiously, they were, at least, subjects of speculation, and, as opening a field for the gymnastics of argument, were, in so far, more respectable than those wretched points of strife so long contested between the Church of England and her Puritan opponents. Whether the clergy ought to wear linen surplices and caps\* ; whether steeples ought to be surmounted with weathercocks or crosses† ; whether the

\* There appear to have been some, even among the reverend sticklers on these points, who had the good sense to perceive the wretched nature of their warfare. Thus, in a Memorial presented to the Bishops by two deprived Dignitaries, Sampson and Humfrey, they “protest before God, what a bitter grief it was to them, that there should be a dissension between them for *so small a matter as woollen and linen*”—(meaning the cap and surplice).—*Strype, Life of Parker.*

Not content with the disgrace redounding to themselves from such trifling, these divines, with the usual profaneness of party-theologians, were for enlisting God himself in their war about “woollen and linen.” In a letter written by Bishop Sands, in 1566, he says, “Disputes are now on foot concerning the Popish vestments, whether they should be used or not; *but God will put an end to these things.*”

† In a letter to Peter Martyr, Bishop Jewel thus

altar should stand in the middle of the church, or, altar-wise, with one side to the wall; whether it is becoming a good Christian to pay reverence to the altar\*, to bow

writes:—"The controversy about Crosses is now grown very warm. You would hardly believe how mad some, who seemed wise men, are in a foolish matter." He adds, further on, "'Tis come to that pass, that the silver and tin crosses which we had every where broke down, must be set up again, or we must leave our bishoprics."

The queen (Elizabeth) was so far attached to the ancient faith as to wish to preserve some of these vestiges of it; and we are told by Heylin that one of her chaplains, "speaking less reverently, in a sermon preached before her, of the Sign of the Cross, was called to aloud by her out of her closet-window, and commanded to retire from that ungodly digression, and return to his text."—*Hist. of Reformation.*

\* As a specimen of their mode of treating these points, I shall here give a few sentences from a pamphlet of that period, on the subject of reverence to the altar. In a treatise entitled "Reasons for bowing to the Altar," the author had contended, on the grounds afterwards taken up by Archbishop Laud, that "as the Chair of State is always to be honoured, though the person of the Royal Majesty be not seen there, so is God's Board ever to have due reverence, and God, who is there perpetually, is always to be bowed to," &c. &c. To this treatise an answer was published by some Puritan, in which are the following sentences. "First, therefore, let them prove that God

at the name of Jesus, or stand up at the Gloria Patri\* ;—such were a few of the mighty questions at issue between the parties ; such the levers of discord by which Protestant England was heaved from her very foundations !

At the same time that controversies like these were bringing ridicule on religion by their frivolousness, the Antinomian tenets†,

hath and ought to have a seat in every Church.” Again, “ This gentleman must prove that God sits personally sometimes on the table.” The conclusion to which the Puritan comes, at last, is, “ Therefore, as God is always sitting on the table, they ought not to bow or do any reverence to it at all.”

\* In a letter from the sturdy Puritan, Twisse, to Mr. Mede, he says, “ You bade me stand up at *Gloria Patri* ; and it was in such a tone too, that you had the mastery of me, I know not how. I profess I little looked for such entertainment at your hands. My wife’s father, Dr. Moore, was Bishop Bilson’s chaplain, and most respected by him of any chaplain that ever he had, and he a cathedral man, too ; *but they could never get him to stand up at Gloria Patri.*”

† In a pamphlet published at that time by one Archer, called “ Comfort for Believers in their Sins and Troubles,” the doctrine originally held both by Luther and Calvin, that God was the direct author of sin, is thus boldly put

then prevalent among all ranks, still more disgraced it by their immorality\*; while, in that infinite power of subdivision into new sects and denominations, in which Protestantism, at all times, luxuriates, never did she half so unboundedly revel as at that truly sectarian

forward:—“ We may safely say that God is, and hath a hand in, and is the author of the sinfulness of his people.” After quoting the opinions of some divines, who “ have erred,” as he says, “ in making sin more of the creature and itself, and less from God than it is,” he adds, “ This opinion gives not enough to God in sin. Let us embrace and profess the truth, and not fear to say that of God which he, in his Holy Book, saith of himself, namely, ‘ that of Him and from His hand is not only the thing that is sinful, but the pravity and sinfulness of it.’ ”

\* What the effects of such tenets must be upon the minds of ordinary and ignorant persons may be concluded from their demoralizing influence upon those of a superior class. We are assured by Bishop Burnet (*Sum. of Affairs before Reform.*) it was the opinion of Cromwell that “ the moral laws were only binding in ordinary cases; but that, upon extraordinary ones, these might be superseded,—he and that set of men (adds Burnet) justifying their ill actions from the practice of Ehad and Jael, Sampson and David.”

Most truly has Dr. Hey asserted, in his Theological Lectures, that “ the misinterpretation of Scriptures brought on the miseries of the Civil Wars.”

crisis\*. “England (says a preacher before the Commons, in 1647) was never so bad as in a time of Reformation. Witness the numerous and numberless increase of errors and heterodox opinions even to blasphemy among us! The world once wondered to see itself turned Arian. England may now wonder to see itself turned Anabaptist, Antinomian†, Ar-

\* There was, in Cromwell’s time, a Committee of the House of Commons appointed, to “consider of the *particular enumeration of damnable heresies.*” What a Report it must have been!

† Nothing can be imagined more ruinous to all true notions of religion and morality than was the doctrine of Justification, as asserted by the high Calvinists of that period. All the worst consequences, indeed, that can arise from pride and cruelty united were sure to be engendered, in their most odious form, by a creed which held that there was no one sin, however small, that did not deserve eternal torments, nor no number of sins, however great, that could deprive the Elect of eternal happiness.—See the small volume of Witsius, entitled *Animadversiones Irenicæ*, in which, whatever grace can be thrown round such blasphemies by the style in which they are stated, has been lent to them by the elegant Latinity of this writer. Among the high Calvinist doctrines of which, (though held, as he admits, by “*Viri docti*” of his sect,) Witsius himself disapproves, are the following—that

minian, Socinian, Arian, Anti-Scripturist, what not!—Alas, what were Ceremonies to these things but (as Calvin once called them) ‘*tolerabiles ineptiæ,*’ children’s sport, in comparison! *How much less an evil was it, think*

God can see no sin in believers,—that they contract no guilt by new crimes, nor can any crimes lie heavy on their consciences,—that David himself never complained of the weight of sin upon his mind, &c.—“*Nec Davidem ex vero de peccati sibi incumbentis onere conquestum esse.*”

Among the opinions which Witsius fully adopts are such as the following,—Because believers are just through the justice of Christ, *they are equally just with Christ himself*;—the justice of the Elect being the very justice itself of Christ. “*Quia justi sunt per justitiam Christi, æque justos esse ac ipse Christus . . . . . quum justitia Electorum sit ipsissima Christi justitia.*”

The manner in which God’s tolerance of the sins of the Elect is explained by these fanatics affords a highly characteristic sample of their presumption and impiety. God sees, they allow, the sins of believers, but does not see them with an eye to condemnation or punishment: the stain still remains in his sight, but *without* the guilt.—“*Non intuetur sic ut propter illa condemnare eos instituat . . . . . tollitur (peccatum) non quo ad maculum sed ad reatum.*” To illustrate this relative position of God and his Elect, Charnock compares it to an account-book, in which the old score, though marked off, and no longer due, is still legible.—“*Debitum tale legi fortasse potest: exigi non potest.*”

*ye, to bow at the namè of Jesus than to deny, to blaspheme the name of Jesus? (2 Pet. ii. 1.)”*

“ Would it be believed (said the great Hebraist, Dr. Lightfoot\*, who also preached before the House of Commons) that, in so short a time, after so solemn an obligation, and the Parliament that brought on the Covenant sitting, the Covenant should be so forgot as we dolefully see daily that it is? We vowed against *Error, Heresy and Schism*, and swore to the God of Truth and Peace *to the utmost of our power to extirpate them and to root them out*. These stones and walls and pillars were witnesses of our solemn engagement. And now, if the Lord should come to inquire what we have done according to this vow and covenant, I am amazed to think what the Lord would find amongst us.

\* We have here another instance of a profound inquirer into Christian antiquity bearing full testimony to the truth of a great Catholic tenet;—this learned man being of opinion, with the Catholics, that the keys were given to Peter exclusively of the other Apostles.

Would he not find ten schisms *now* for one *then*, twenty heresies *now* for one *at that time*, and forty errors *now* for one *when we swore* against them?"

The very same results, both as regards the distracting varieties of heresy, and the corrupting influence of Antinomian doctrines, appear from the avowals and lamentations of most of the eminent writers of Germany, to have taken place at the same period in that equally sect-ridden country. Indeed, the parallel between the two cases is in this instance, as in most others, complete. "The Church of God (says a German writer quoted by Walch) is surrounded with a thousand troubles; the wolves are quartered in the fold; almost every one now opposes the truth; and by false preachers the world is deceived. The Anabaptist's guile, the Quaker's demure mood, the Chiliast fanaticism, and Böhme's giddy spirit begins, in these times, again to renew itself. The Pietist crew storms in perforce. These, these are they who would regenerate the world by their false holiness, who bring God's house



into ten thousand ills, and sow in God's field the filth of Belial."

"The doctrine of justification by faith alone (says the pious Spener) is a holy doctrine, and we should not think it too much to shed our blood for it. But when the great careless multitude so shamefully abuse it, that, even while continuing in sin and its service, they still console themselves that they shall attain eternal life by faith alone, will live and die in dependence upon this,—then is such doctrine (which many entertain in order that they may still indulge their fleshly mind and their careless security) not a true but a false doctrine; for it is a shameful perversion of the truth. . . . . And so it is with other points. So that we have not only ground to complain of evil lives, but that, with all these discourses about faith, very little faith is left, nay that most are wholly ignorant what faith is."

## CHAPTER XXI.

Parallel between the Protestantism of Germany and of England continued.—Infidel writers.—Sceptical English Divines—South, Sherlock, and Burnett.—Extraordinary work of the latter.—Socinianism of Hoadly, Balguy, Hey, &c.—Closing stage of the Parallel.—Testimonies to the increasing irreligion of England.

SUCH a course of affairs, moral and theological, as I have been describing, could not but lead in the end to fatal results; and though, of the two countries destined thus to one common fate, Germany has been the more rapid in reaching the catastrophe, England was the first to feel and give the downward impulse. The natural fruits of all this abuse and degradation of religion soon manifested themselves, in the latter country, by a series of the most deliberate and systematic attacks upon Christianity that have ever been hazarded by infidels since first the light of the Gospel broke on this world. With such

vigour were these impious assaults carried on, that, in the successive productions, from the year 1650, of Hobbes, Toland, Collins, Morgan, Woolston, Tindall, and Chubb, all the arguments of Deism may be said to have been exhausted;—Voltaire himself having been indebted for the keenest of his anti-christian weapons to the destructive armoury of these acute English free-thinkers.

To them also, far more than to the French philosophers, or even to the example of the infidel court of Frederick the Great, has Germany to attribute the impulse given to her literature at the commencement of the eighteenth century,—an impulse, seconded but too willingly by her own Rationalizing divines, and ending, as we have seen, in the almost total extinction of her religion. Thus, by a signal retribution, as Germany had, by her example, been the means of Protestantizing England, so England has, in return, helped to unchristianize Germany\*.

\* The fatal pre-eminence of being foremost in the ranks of infidelity is thus assigned to the English writers by

I have already remarked that the Reformed Church, on the continent, from being much less concentrated than the Lutheran, as well as less accustomed to the restraints of fixed formularies of faith, lay proportionately more open to the inroads of belief; and, in that sort of security against innovation which Confessions and Articles afford, the Church of England was no less strongly intrenched than the Lutheran. Even into this preserve of ortho-

Mosheim:—"There is no country in Europe where infidelity has not exhibited its poison; and scarcely any denomination of Christians among whom we may not find several persons who either aim at the total extinction of all religion, or at least endeavour to invalidate the authority of the Christian system. Some carry on these unhappy attempts in an open manner; others, under the mask of a Christian profession; *but nowhere have these enemies of the purest religion and consequently of mankind, whom it was intended to render pure and happy, appeared with more effrontery and insolence than under the governments of Great Britain and the United Provinces.* In England more especially it is not uncommon to meet with books in which not only the doctrines of the Gospel but also the perfections of the Deity and the solemn obligations of piety and virtue are impudently called into question and turned into derision."

doxy, however, strict as was the “*divinity* that hedged it,” the effects of the reaction produced by the excesses of Puritanism began visibly to extend themselves;—insomuch that, before the close of that century, the University of Oxford had to condemn, by a Decree of the Vice-Chancellor, as “false, impious and heretical,” certain doctrines, concerning the Godhead, maintained publicly by a Dean of St. Paul’s\*!

The controversy in which this Decree had its origin is memorable in the annals of English theology; and not the less so from the fact that Dr. South, with whom the University sided, on the occasion, was as little orthodox, on the subject, as his Tritheist opponent; for while the latter (Doctor Sherlock) maintained that the three Persons in the Trinity are three distinct minds or spirits†, and three in-

\* Doctor Sherlock. The Decree was levelled not directly at Sherlock himself, but at a clergyman of Oxford who had preached his doctrine.

† Doctor Wallis represents Sherlock as being of opinion that the Three Spirits are as “really distinct as Peter, James, and John, and one God only, as they are

dividual substances, Doctor South destroyed the triple Personality altogether, and, in supposing but one substance, with something like three modes of existence, fell into downright Sabellianism.

The language, indeed, of this latter sprightly divine, on more than one solemn topic, would not have been ill-suited to the present Rationalist meridian of Germany; and, on the subject of the Book of Revelations, not even Semler himself, in all the wantonness of his school, has ventured to express himself so irreverently as did this chaplain of the Protestant champion, Wil-

mutually conscious." Wallis himself, in explaining his own view of the doctrine, is fully as Sabellian as South. "Whereas Persona (he says), in its true and ancient sense, before the schoolmen put this forced sense upon it [i. e. of a distinct intelligent being], did not signify a man simply, but one under such and such and such circumstances, or qualifications; so that the same man, if capable of being qualified thus and thus and thus, might sustain three persons, and these three persons be the same man."—*Letters concerning the Trinity*. In another place, this celebrated divine tells us gravely that "there are three *somewhats*" in the Trinity.

liam III., who speaks of it, in one of his Sermons, as “ a mysterious, extraordinary book, which, perhaps, the more ’tis studied, the less ’tis understood, as generally finding a man cracked or making him so\*.”!

Nearly at the same time with the discreditable controversy just mentioned, appeared another and still more signal proof of the

\* *Sermons.*—While South himself indulges in such licence, he accuses Sherlock of still greater irreverence; and denounces his *Treatise of the Knowledge of Christ* as “ a book fraught with reflections upon God’s justice, with reference to Christ’s satisfaction;” adding “ that it may deservedly pass for a blasphemous libel on both.” Nor can it be denied that there are passages in Sherlock’s *Treatise* which fully warrant this description of it. For instance, Dr. Owen, the famous Calvinist, having asserted “ that in Christ God hath manifested the naturalness of this righteousness unto him, in that it was impossible that it should be diverted from sinners, without the interposing of a propitiation,” Dr. Sherlock, in ridiculing this doctrine, gives way to the following indecent language: —“ That is (for I can make no better of it) *being glutted and satiated with the blood of Christ*, God may pardon as many and as great sinners as he pleases *without fear of the least imputation of justice.*” Again, “ The sum of which is, that *God is all love and patience, when he hath taken his fill of revenge.* As others use to say, that ‘ *the Devil is very good when he is pleased.*’”

rapid advances of scepticism, not merely within the hallowed pale of Subscription itself, but, still more extraordinarily, on the very highways of preferment and patronage. Doctor Thomas Burnet, the Master of the Charter-House\*, and, as was supposed, de-

\* The example of orthodoxy set by these three responsible divines (South, a Rector and King's Chaplain, Sherlock, a Dean of St. Paul's, and Burnet, Master of the Charter-House) gave birth to a lively ballad, of which I cannot resist the temptation of quoting a few stanzas :

“ When Preb. replied, like thunder,  
And roared out 'twas no wonder,  
Since Gods the Dean had three, sir,  
And more by two than he, sir ;  
For he had got but one,  
For he had, &c. &c.

“ Now, while the two were raging,  
And in dispute engaging,  
The Master of the Charter  
Said both had caught a Tartar,  
For Gods, sir, there were none, &c.

“ That all the Books of Moses  
Were nothing but supposes ;  
That he deserved rebuke, sir—  
Who wrote the Pentateuch, sir—  
'Twas nothing but a sham, &c.



stined to succeed Tillotson in the see of Canterbury, published about this time a work called “*Archæologiæ Philosophicæ*,” in which, giving it as his opinion that Philosophy should be made the interpreter of Scripture (the masked battery of all infidels), he proceeds to inquire into the Mosaic history of the Creation of the World; and, bringing forward every argument that a learned scepticism could suggest to throw doubt upon the credibility of the narrative, treats the whole with a degree of sarcasm and ridicule which would be, even in a lay infidel, offensive.

The principle on which he attempts to account for and reconcile the presumed falsehood of this history,—namely, that Moses, in all the details of his Cosmogony, thought only of adapting himself to the pre-

“ That, as for Father Adam,  
 With Mrs. Eve, his madam,  
 And what the Serpent spoke, sir,  
 ’Twas nothing but a joke, sir,  
 And well-invented flam. &c.

judices of the vulgar\*,—is the very same that has, in later times, been made subservient to the explaining away of most of the essence of Christianity. Nor, even in this ulterior object, was the Reverend Doctor much behind the age of Rationalism, as we find him citing, in support of the policy of thus humouring the false fancies of the vulgar, the examples of Christ and the Apostles, who, he says, in speaking on such points as a Future Life, the Last Judgment, and the nature of Heaven and Hell, did not express themselves accurately, but, on the contrary, adapted their language to what they knew to be the most popular imaginations on these subjects. As a specimen of the freedom with which this divine handles such topics, I shall merely mention that, after demonstrating, as he supposes, the physical impossibility of light having been created on the first day, he suggests that Moses might have thought it advisable to begin his Hexameron with this task, lest it

\* *Scripturam Sacram ad populi captum accomodare.*

should seem “as if God were working three days in the dark \*.”!

\* *Ne Deus videretur per triduum operari in tenebris.*—He remarks that, on some of the days, God is represented as doing very little, and accounts for this disproportionate activity by the supposition that Moses, intending, from the first, to institute the Sabbath, thus purposely spun out the task, so as to make God rest on the seventh day. The part of his work that gave most offence was an imaginary dialogue between Eve and the Serpent, and this, in a second edition of his book, published at Amsterdam, he omitted; as well as his irreverent remark on the sewing of the fig-leaves together,—“Behold the first rudiments of the tailor’s art!” *En primordia artis sutoriæ!*

Such was the decorous divine who, but for this unlucky production, would have succeeded, it was supposed, Tillotson as Archbishop of Canterbury!—Tillotson himself was, it is well known, suspected of more than a leaning to Socinianism, and the laudatory terms in which he speaks of the learning and candour of the followers of that creed might well induce such a suspicion. However successfully, indeed, he may be thought to have cleared himself from the imputation, it is no small proof of, at least, the tendency of some of his doctrine in that direction, that Leslie, in one of his controversial works, was able to pass off whole pages of Tillotson’s Sermon on Hell Torments, as from the pen of a Socinian writer. “Because you could not (says Emlyn, in his answer to Leslie) raise odium enough from their own (the Socinians’) writings, you pick up any odious thing, even out of the writings of their very opposers, and then make your Socinian to speak it, and

The effects of the change produced in the actual power of the Crown, at the Revolution, by substituting patronage and the force of influence for the bare sceptre of prerogative, have been felt in none of those channels through which the Royal Pactolus has since continued to flow, more abundantly than in the Church:—and thus, in addition to whatever guard against innovation the pen-fold of Subscription may have supplied, a new and still more powerful incentive to orthodoxy has been found in the grandeur and opulence that glitter within its pale. Still so prone and irresistible is the tendency of Protestantism to strip itself of every shred of doctrine and reason away all mysteries, that, notwithstanding the countless worldly advantages which a Church, rich in such bribes, holds out, not only has *lay* dissent from her communion increased to such an extent as threatens, before long, to “push her from her stool,” but even her own divines, the very sentinels this without naming the author from whom you took the passage.”

of the Establishment, have gone on undermining the foundations of her faith, and surrendering, one by one, its strongest outposts, as if to prepare her for that fall, in which her sisters of Germany have but a short space preceded her.

Nor is it so much to the Burnets and the Whistons, who, from too much honesty, overleap the Church fence, as to the Hoadlys and Balguys, who keep insidiously *within* it, that the main mischief is to be attributed. Of the success of the two last-mentioned divines in Socinianizing the Church of England Sacraments I have already more than once spoken; and though they did not *openly* carry the principle any further, the close friendship which Hoadly maintained with Samuel Clarke, as well as the earnestness with which, in his *Life* of that distinguished man, he defends him against the charge of having retracted his heretical notions, concerning the Trinity, leave little doubt that the Bishop's own views on that subject were, at least, equally heterodox.

The language of Doctor Balguy, in its anti-mysterious and rationalizing tendency, was even more explicit than that of his friend and patron, the Bishop. The very argument, indeed, advanced by the infidel, Toland, to prove that Christianity is not mysterious,—namely, that it professes to be a revelation, and that any thing revealed can no longer be mysterious,—is thus brought forward, at second hand, by the beneficed Dr. Balguy: “It is no ways essential to a mystery to be ill understood: the word evidently refers to men’s past ignorance, not their present. In this sense, the revelation of a mystery destroys the very being of it. The moment it becomes an article of belief, it is mysterious no longer\*.”

This is manifestly mere Socinianism in disguise;—for, to say that the moment a doctrine becomes an article of belief it is mysterious no longer, is but another mode of asserting the main position of the Rationalist, that, if a doctrine is mysterious, it cannot become an article of belief. The whole of Dr.

\* *Discourses, by T. Balguy, D.D.*

Balguy's language, on such subjects, is of the same insidious description; though occasionally, as in the following passage of one of his Charges, the mask is somewhat more boldly lifted:—"It is our business (he says) not to swell out the slender articles of belief contained in Scripture by mere human inventions; and, least of all, to censure and persecute our brethren, perhaps for no other reason than because *their nonsense and ours wear a different dress*.\*"

As a clue to the meaning insinuated in these suspicious sentences, I shall add another remarkable passage of the same clever divine, in which his admission of the Pagan origin assigned by Priestley and others to the doctrine of the Trinity is far too clear to be mistaken:—"A man will have no cause to fear that he believes too little, if he believes enough to make him repent and obey. If we are firmly persuaded *that Jesus was sent from God*†, if

\* *Charge to the Clergy of an Archdeaconry.*

† It is plain that the Mahometans, who believe Christ to have been a prophet "sent from God," must, on the principle here laid down, be considered as orthodox.

we are sincerely desirous to obey his laws, and hope for salvation in and through him, it will never be laid to our charge that we have misconceived *certain metaphysical niceties*, which have been *drawn from obscure passages of scripture by the magical operation of Pagan philosophy.*”

Such all but avowal of the worst principles of Socinianism from men so high in the Church, both from station and talent, sufficiently prepares us for what otherwise would have seemed wholly incredible,—an express proffer of the hand of fellowship to the whole body of Socinians, from no less a quarter than the chair of the Norrisian professor of Theology, at Cambridge!—In one of his otherwise most valuable Lectures, the late Dr. Hey thus speaks:—“ We and the Socinians are said to differ,—but about what? Not about morality or about natural religion. We differ only about what we do not understand, and about what is to be done on the part of God; and if we allowed one another to use expressions at will (*and what great matter could that be in what might be called un-*



*meaning words?*) we need never be on our guard against each other\*.”

In these few sceptical sentences,—in the chill and deadly air of Indifferentism that breathes through them, we recognise that last stage of a declining religion, before, (as exemplified so signally in the instance of Germany,) it sinks to the flat level of total unbelief;—that stage, where Heresy, weary of its own caprices and changes, and no longer fed by the false stimulus which the strife of controversy once lent, sinks hopelessly into the collapse of indifference which precedes the death of all faith.

I have already more than once referred to the “monster of absurdity,”—as Whitaker justly describes it,—of an avowed Arian, on the bench of Bishops, in the person of Dr. Clayton, and might here still further,

\* The same learned Lecturer, in speaking of the *custom*, as he calls it, in Scripture, of mentioning Father, Son, and Holy Ghost together, says, “Did I pretend to understand what I say, I might be a Tritheist or an infidel; but I could not worship the one, true God, and acknowledge Jesus Christ to be the Lord of all.”

did my limits permit, increase my list of Socinian Divines of the Church of England by such names as Watson \*, Warburton †,

\* In a Charge to his Clergy, in the year 1795, this latitudinarian divine, speaking of the Christian doctrines, thus speaks:—"I think it *safer* to tell you *where they are contained* than *what they are*. They are contained in the Bible, and if, in reading that book, your sentiments concerning the doctrines of Christianity should be different from those of your neighbour, *or from those of the Church*, be persuaded, on your part, that infallibility appertains as little to you as it does to the Church."

The same Bishop, in the Catalogue of Books affixed to his Theological Tracts, says, "We ought to entertain no other wish than that every man may be allowed, without loss of fame or fortune, *to think what he pleases and say what he thinks*—(et sentire quæ velit et quæ sentiat dicere)." In adverting to this free and easy principle, a correspondent of the reverend author of the *Parriana* very justly says, "This extraordinary passage means what is nothing to the purpose, or what is very disgraceful to the Church of England. Certainly, until a man avows himself her member or teacher, she claims no authority, leaving conscience and disquisition free; but when men have in almost a score of instances solemnly declared their assent and consent to certain Articles, does the Church then permit any such individual '*et sentire quæ velit et quæ sentiat dicere?*'"

† In reference to some very coarse ridicule cast by Warburton, in one of his letters to Hurd, on the Biblical

Jortin\*, the late Dr. Parr†, and others,—showing how irresistibly, in the face of all account of Noah's Ark, Mr. Barker, in his amusing work, *Parriana*, says, “Should William Hone, the bookseller, have been tried for political parodies, when Bishop Warburton could write in this manner about Biblical history?”

\* The writer of a letter addressed to Gilbert Wakefield, and published in his *Memoirs*, tells us that “Jortin professed himself a doubter about the Trinity;” and adds, “he had a mind far above worldly views; yet, whether from a desire to be useful in his profession, or any other good motive (it certainly was some *good* motive), he subscribed repeatedly both before and after this profession.”

In confirmation of this account of his opinions, we find Jortin, in his *Miscellanies*, accusing those who adopt the high Trinitarian doctrine of “making Jesus Christ his own Father and his own Son.” What this ingenious divine thought, in general, of the Church to which he so repeatedly subscribed may be collected from the following passage:—“Bacon says, ‘if St. John were to write an Epistle to the Church of England, as he did to that of Asia, it would surely contain this clause, *I have a few things against thee.*’ I am afraid the clause would be, *I have NOT a few things against thee.*”—*Jortin.*

† “Doctor Parr’s avowal (says Mr. Barker) of the coincidence of his own opinion with those of Bishop Hoadly, Dr. Bell, and Dr. Taylor, on the Real Presence, seems to confirm Mr. Gibbon’s assertion of the actual prevalence, among the Reformed Churches, of the opinion of Zwinglius, that the Sacrament of the Altar is no more

pledges and bribes, of all restraints on conscience and baits to cupidity, the sceptical than a spiritual communion, a simple memorial of Christ's death and passion."—*Parriana*.

The following anecdotes, from the same work, respecting Dr. Parr, are curious :—“ At a friend's house in Norwich, the conversation turned upon the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation. From what the Doctor said, I understood him to mean, that nothing more was intended than an ordinary birth. I took a much higher position, and, convinced of the strength of my ground, asked him whether it was possible that the Evangelist, in penning the sentence ‘ The Word was made flesh,’ &c. could mean no more than the conception and birth of a mere human being?—Without pursuing the subject, he merely said, ‘ You are right, you are right!’

“ I had once the pleasure of driving the Doctor a few miles into the country, to visit a former pupil. When we returned together, it was a bright starlight night, and the beauty of the scene over our heads led me to ask him, with reference to the Mosaic record, how long, in his opinion, those orbs had rolled and glittered. He made some remarks on the term (created) employed by the sacred penman, distinguishing between creation, strictly understood, and formation, or putting the then chaos into its present order. I did not then admire the distinction which throws back the creation to an indefinite period, and thrusts the Creator from what seems his proper place; and if Moses should fail us here, and the same mode of criticism be adopted in other parts of Scripture, I fear we shall have no proof of the creation of the *material* world, at least.”

spirit of Protestantism \* continues to hurry on in its downward career to that dark plunge into infidelity which full as surely awaits it as doth the rush down the steep await the Niagara in its course.

Having already, however, out-gone the limits which I had allowed myself for this sketch, I shall here only add that the remarkable parallel which I have proved so clearly to have existed, throughout every stage of their respective careers, between the Protestantism of Germany and that of England, has received, even while I write, an additional and, I might say, crowning step in the proposal recently made for a coalition between the Church of England and the

\* Doctor Parr having, at it appears, intimated that Bishop Porteus had been a Socinian before he came to the mitre, the *British Critic* for January, 1828, in taking up the cause of the latter, says: "That the calumniator of Porteus should be the panegyrist of such prelates as Clayton and Hoadly is a mere matter of course. But Doctor Parr could only admire at a distance their good fortune which threw them on those happier days when it was permitted to an Arian and a Socinian to avow their principles and yet to retain their mitres."

Dissenters. This companion picture, as it may be called, to the memorable compromise between the Lutherans and Calvinists of Germany, owes its first outline to a Church of England divine, of high character and attainments\*, who grounds his views of the expediency and even urgency of such a step both on the extent to which dissent from the Established Church prevails, and the reconcilable nature of the doctrines out of which that dissent arises. That this penultimate scene of the drama must before long arrive, none who read the signs of the times

\* Dr. Arnold.—The following is an extract from the Rev. Doctor's pamphlet:—"We are by no means bound to inquire, whether all who pray to Christ entertain exactly the same ideas of his nature. I believe that Arianism involves in it some very erroneous notions as to the object of religious worship; but if an Arian will join in our worship of Christ, and will call him Lord and God, there is neither wisdom nor charity in insisting that he shall explain what he means by these terms; nor in questioning the strength and sincerity of his faith in his Saviour, because he makes too great a distinction between the divinity of the Father, and that which he allows to be the attribute of the Son."

aright can harbour a single doubt; and some notion may be formed of the amount of sacrifice that will, in such case, be required of the Church, by her new allies, from the following items of what one of her own living divines considers objectionable in her ritual:—

“ What (asks the Rev. Mr. Riland) do we gain by the party spirit of the Preface to the Liturgy: the ill selection of proper lessons, epistles, and gospels; the retention of legendary names and allusions in the calendar; the lection of the Apocrypha and the omission of the Apocalypse; the mention of feasts and fasts never observed; the repetition of the Paternoster, Kyrie Eleison, and Gloria Patri; the wearisome length of the services; the redundance and assumptions in the state prayers; the unsatisfactoriness of the three creeds; the disputable character of the baptismal and the burial offices; the incompleteness and dubious construction of the catechism, and of the order of confirmation; the inapplicable nature and absolution of the visitation of the sick; the

imperfection of the commination service; the discordance between the Prayer Book and Bible translation of the Psalms; the contumelious and offensive language of the state services; and, added to all these "sources of weakness, similar causes of inefficiency in the Articles and Homilies?"—*Riland*.

While such are the symptoms, so formidably similar to all that occurred in Germany, of the advance of indifferentism and scepticism among the Clergy of this country, we have the authority of the Clergy themselves for the progress of the same demoralizing principles among the Laity. "Infidelity," says Bishop Watson, in his Apology for the Bible, "is a rank weed; it threatens to overspread the land; its root is principally found among the great and opulent." In the same manner Bishop Prettyman complains, in one of his Charges, "that the characteristics of the present times are confessedly incredulity, and an unprecedented indifference to the religion of Christ."—And Bishop Barrington said, in 1797, "Even in this country there is



an almost universal lukewarmness, respecting the essentials of religion.”

At the same time, too, that these and other eminent Church of England authorities \* bear such testimony to the irreligion of the higher classes of the country, we find in the Reports of Home Missionaries and other such sources an equally lamentable picture of the demoralization of the lower.

At the first annual meeting of the Parent Home Missionary Society, 1820, it is stated, in reference to Northumberland, Cumberland, Durham, and part of Lancashire, that “darkness covers this part of England, and

\* The writers of the *British Critic*, who, to do them but justice, defend the interests of their religion with a degree of zeal and ability which is rare among the theologians of this age, thus acknowledge and deplore the state of Protestant England as hastening fast to a similar doom with that of Protestant Germany:—  
 “There is quite enough of infidelity amongst us already. Liberal principles, that is, no fixed principles whatever, are professed in every quarter; and, in spite of the apparent tranquillity which reigns around, *the day may not be distant, in which there will be as little belief amongst the gentlemen of England as there is now amongst the philosophers of Germany,—that is, none at all.*”

gross darkness the people:”—while the County of Worcester, it is said, may, “in a moral light, be regarded as a waste, howling wilderness.” In the same Report, Staffordshire is stated to contain three hundred thousand inhabitants, “the greater part of whom sit in darkness and the gloomy shades of overspreading death.” Again, Oxfordshire, we are told, presents a “moral wilderness of awful dimensions,” and, in a part of Berkshire, “the villages are in a state of complete mental darkness.”

In a second Report of the same Society, it is stated that Mr. Sparkes preached in four places which were “moral wildernesses, and knew nothing of evangelical truth;” and in the third Report, one of the Missionaries says of his station, “I verily believe that this is the worst place under the heavens, for men, women, and children seem to glory in blaspheming the Lord!”

## CHAPTER XXII.

Return to Ireland.—Visit to Townsend-street Chapel.—

Uncertainty and unsafety of the Scriptures, as a sole rule of Faith :—Proofs.—Authority of the Church.—

Faith or Reason.—Catholic or Deist.—Final resolution.

ON the 23d of April, 1830,—completing just a year and a week from the date of that memorable evening, when, in my chambers, up two pair of stairs, Trinity College, I declared so emphatically, “ I *will* be a Protestant,”—I found myself once more safe landed, on Irish ground, and, I need hardly add, a far better and honester Catholic than when I left it. That disreputable hankering after the flesh-pots of Ballymudragget which had so long blinded me to the light of truth, or rather tempted me, with that light full before me, to turn my back upon its beams, was now cast away with scorn and loathing from my mind; and the very first Sunday

after my arrival beheld me once more in the old Townsend-street Chapel, with a conscience lightened of self-reproach, and a heart full of the humblest gratitude to that Being whose eye had watched over me through the temptations with which I had had to struggle.

On looking back to the wide field over which my inquiries had led me, I could not but see that the main source of all the heresies and blasphemies which have arisen, like phantoms, along the pathway of Christianity, from the first moment of its appearance in this world, lay in that free access to the perusal of the Scriptures and that free exercise of private judgment in interpreting them, which heretics have, in all ages, contended for, and the Catholic Church has, in all ages, as invariably condemned. It was, therefore, with a sigh to think how long-lived and unconquerable is error, that I found, on landing in Ireland, the very same cry of "the Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible," which the Gnostics of the second century first turned to the detriment of Christianity, employed by those far from Gnostic

persons, the Lortons and Rodens of the nineteenth,—however unconsciously and ignorantly, on their parts,—to the same baleful purpose.

The mischievous consequences of leaving the Scriptures to be interpreted according to individual fancy and caprice have been pointed out, in opposition to the Dissenters\* and the advocates of Bible Societies, by Dr. Balguy, Bishop Marsh, the Rev. Mr. Callaghan, and other Protestant divines; and the arguments advanced by them, in support of this truly Catholic view of the subject, are far too valuable to the cause of true morality and religion to allow us to indulge in any taunts at the utter inconsistency with the first and main principles of Protestantism which they exhibit †. Referring for the general view

\* “ We find as yet (said Dr. Owen, speaking of himself and his brother nonconformists) no arrows shot against us but such as are gathered up in the fields, shot against them that use them out of the Roman quiver.” *Enquiry into the Origin and Institution of Churches.*

† A shrewd Catholic clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Gandolphy, did not fail to remind Bishop Marsh of this inconsistency:—“ This,” says the Rev. gentleman, “ is exactly the steady, sober language which the Catholics have

of the question to these writers, I shall here employ the brief space that remains to me in endeavouring to show, by a few facts and authorities, that the Scriptures, as a rule of faith, cannot be otherwise than obscure, uncertain, and unsafe without the aid of that guidance which Tradition alone can supply, and which the Church, as the depository of all Christian Tradition, alone can furnish.

And, first,—to begin with the difficulties which uninstructed and unguided Reason has to encounter in the main, preliminary point of understanding the meaning of Scripture,—“Open your Bibles,” says Dr. Balguy; “take the first page that occurs in either Testament, and tell me, without disguise, is there nothing in it too hard for your understanding? If you find all before you clear and easy, you may thank God for giving you a privilege which he has denied to so many thousands of sincere believers.”

With respect to the Old Testament, we have but too clear a proof, in the utter mis-  
 been using for two hundred years, whilst the Reformers have run mad with the Bible fever.”

conception, on the part of the Jews, of the true nature and character of the expected Messiah, how far a whole nation may be deceived in interpreting the Sacred Writings, even on a point touching their own interests, essentially and vitally\*: and when to the difficulties and obscurities which prevented even the Jews themselves from understanding their own Scriptures are added all those that, from the lapse of time, from the corruption of copies, from our comparative ignorance of the language and the incorrectness of translators †,

\* The Jews, too, after having thus rejected the real Messiah, suffered themselves to be deceived by several impostors who usurped that title; and the writer of a Dissertation on the subject (quoted by Grégoire) counts no less than seventeen different false Messiahs from Bar Barcochebaz down to Zabbathai Zevi who made the eighteenth.

† All the great German Reformers accused each other of misinterpreting and mistranslating the Scriptures. Beza found fault with the translation by Œcolampadius. Castalio condemned Beza's version, and Molinæus condemned both Beza's and Castalio's. Zwinglius charged Luther with corrupting the word of God, while Luther advanced the same charge against Munzer.

In a Petition addressed to James I. by some zealous Protestants it is stated, "our Translation of the Psalms,

have since gathered round the meaning of the text, it is surely little less than utter madness to assert that the ordinary race of mankind should be left to sift and distort to their own fancies and whims a series of records left so awfully open to misapprehension.

Let us but hear what Lowth, in recommending a revision of the Vulgär Translation of the Old Testament, says of the state of the Hebrew text on which that translation is founded:—"With regard to the Old Testament, the Church of Christ is no longer a slave to the synagogue, nor does the Christian interpreter blindly follow those blind guides, the Jewish teachers. Their infallible Maccomprized in our Book of Common Prayer, doth in addition, subtraction and alterations differ from the truth of the Hebrew in at least two hundred places." The Ministers of the Lincoln Diocese, addressing also the King, pronounced the English Translation of the Bible to be "a translation which is absurd and senseless, perverting in many places the meaning of the Holy Ghost;"—and Broughton, a red-hot Protestant, in his Advertisements of Corruptions, tells the Bishops, that "their public translation of Scripture into English is such as that it perverts the texts of the Old Testament in eight hundred and forty places, and that it causes millions of millions to reject the New Testament and to run to eternal flames."



sora, boasted to have been an edifice raised by wise master-builders on the rock of divine authority, proves to have been framed by unskilful hands, and built on the sand; its foundations have been shaken, and it now totters to its fall. The defects of the Hebrew text itself,—for it cannot be denied that it hath its defects, nor, as it has been transmitted to us by human means, could it possibly be without defects,—these have been pointed out and remedies have in part been applied to them, and may be further applied by an accurate collation of ancient versions and of various copies.”

While such, as regards the Old Testament\*, are the vague and shifting sands on which the presumption of Private Judgment has to build its conclusions, the difficulties which stand in the way of an inquirer into the New

\* It was the opinion of Whiston that the text of the Old Testament had been greatly corrupted, both in the Hebrew and the Septuagint, by the Jews themselves, for the purpose of rendering, as he supposes, the reasoning of the Apostles from the Old Testament inconclusive and ridiculous.

Testament are hardly of a less perplexing or unsurmountable nature; nor did even the gross misconception of the Jews, respecting the Messiah, afford a much stronger proof of the fallibility of human reason, on such subjects, than does the total perversion of all the doctrines of the Gospel into which the Gnostics of the first ages were, by the same self-willed mode of interpreting, led. When we recollect, too, that the men who thus mistook or perverted the sense of Scripture were some of them contemporaries of the Apostles themselves, spoke the language of the New Testament and the Septuagint version, and, from being natives of the countries where the Gospel was first preached, possessed all those clues to interpretation which a knowledge of customs and manners affords,—when we see that, in spite of all such facilities towards the true understanding of the Word, they yet, from their rejection of the lights of Tradition and of the authority of the Church, fell into the coarsest and most puerile misinterpretations of Christian doctrine,—what other, I ask, than

proportionately ruinous consequences are to be expected from the illiterate and presumptuous Bible-searchers of the present day, who to an equally arrogant defiance of tradition and authority add the profoundest ignorance of all that even modern sciolists know upon the subject?

From the obscurity thus shown to exist in the *meaning* of Scripture,—an obscurity which those most qualified to see their way through it have been always the foremost to acknowledge\*,—flows naturally the second defect

\* For instance, Locke, in the Essay prefixed to his Commentary on the Epistles, says, “ Though I had been conversant in these Epistles, as well as in other parts of the sacred Scripture, yet I found *that I understood them not*,—I mean the doctrinal and discursive parts of them.” After pointing out what he conceives to be the reasons of this obscurity, he adds, “ To these causes of obscurity common to St. Paul with most of the other penmen of the several books of the New Testament, we may add those that are peculiarly owing to his style and temper.”

Macknight, too, remarks no less strongly “ the obscure manner of writing used by the Apostle Paul,” and his “dark forms of expression.” But a still more formidable source of error, in this Apostle’s style, has been glanced at by the Hon. Mr. Boyle (*Style of Scrip.*), who tells us that there

of the Sacred Volume, as a sole guide of faith, namely, its endless uncertainty. Those who have gone through the preceding pages can sufficiently form to themselves a notion of the endless varieties of doctrine to which this uncertainty has, among Protestants, given rise. Even where the text itself is simple and unmistakable, the facility of evading its real sense in which Heresy is so practised, comes ever readily into play. We have seen that of the words "This is my body," no less than two hundred different interpretations appeared before the end of the sixteenth century; and Osiander, as quoted by Jeremy Taylor, asserts that there were, during the same period, "twenty several opinions, concerning Satisfaction, all drawn from the Scriptures by the men only of the Augustan Confession,—sixteen several opinions concerning Original Sin, and as many di-

are, in St. Paul's writings, many passages so penned as to contain a tacit kind of dialogue; and that of these, some parts have been taken as *arguments*, which St. Paul himself meant evidently as *objections*.

stinctions of the Sacraments as there were sects of men that disagreed about them!"

Most frightful, too, is it—to all but those who, relying on Christ's promises to his Church, know that from her, at least, the spirit of Truth will never be suffered to depart,—to think on what trivial points the great stake of salvation is made to depend by those who are guided in their faith by the text of Scripture alone. The difference of a comma, of a note of interrogation, arising through the carelessness of transcribers, will produce a change of meaning by which the eternal destiny of millions may be influenced. We are told by Lowth, in a passage just cited, that the mode of interpreting the Old Testament adopted by the Masorites is now entirely exploded, as erroneous and deceptive. On this mode of interpretation, nevertheless, the English Translation of the Hebrew Scriptures is, for the greater part, founded; and how great is the havoc which it makes with other parts of the sacred text, may be concluded from the single instance, that, in the Prophecy

of Daniel (ix. 24, 25) it completely alters the nature of the prediction,—insomuch as to “make it wholly unserviceable to Christians,”—by putting a semicolon in a place where there ought to have been a comma\*!

The very text, indeed, which the Protestants bring forward as their chief authority for the unlimited perusal of the Scriptures, varies essentially in its meaning and its applicability to their purpose, according as the verb is taken in the imperative or the indicative mood,—“Search the Scriptures,” or “You search the Scriptures,”—St. Cyril being for the latter acceptation

\* “Our English translators took the present Hebrew text as it is printed by the Masorites to be the only sense and meaning of the Old Testament. In Dan. ix. 25, they put their ‘athnach,’ or semicolon, after the seven weeks, and thus cutting off the seven weeks from the threescore and two weeks, make the prophecy wholly unserviceable to Christians; but, if they had placed a comma after seven weeks, and their ‘athnach,’ or semicolon, after threescore and two weeks, the number of years, viz. 483 (69 weeks) would exactly point out the time when the Christian Messiah came.”—*Johnson*.—See *Rees’s Cyclopædia, art. Masora*.

of the sentence, and St. Augustine, Theophylactus, and other Fathers having declared for the former. If the indicative mood of the verb be admitted, it then becomes a question, whether a note of interrogation should not be added, so as to make it “Do you search the Scriptures?”

But it is on the great and vital doctrine of the Trinity that these grammatical uncertainties must, to all who rest their belief of that mystery on the words of Scripture alone, be the most awfully perplexing. One of the strongest authorities, in favour of the Divinity of Christ, that of Rom. ix. 5, was got rid of by the Socinians by the mere substitution of a point for a comma\*. The text in 1 Tim. iii. 16, “God was manifest in the flesh,” has been, in like manner, withdrawn from the aid of the Trinitarians, by showing that the true reading is *ὁς*, not *Θεός*,—“*he* was manifest,” not “God

\* Thus printed in the Vulgate:—“*Ex quibus est Christus, secundum carnem qui est super omnia Deus benedictus in sæcula.*”—Grotius was also for the Socinian reading of this passage.

was manifest,"—so that the omission of two letters, out of four, makes all the difference here between Christ's humanity and his Divinity\*! The reading of *κυριον*, instead of

\* The introduction of the word "God," in this verse, is suspected by Erasmus to have been an Athanasian forgery,—“*Mihi subdolet*,” he says, “*Deum additum fuisse adversus Hæreticos Arianos*.” Grotius is of the same opinion.

The following curious particulars respecting this disputed text, will show on what awfully minute props the Protestants' sole Rule of Faith may depend. In the Alexandrine MS., to which both parties referred for the text, the Unitarians found only 'ΟΣ, while the Trinitarians thought they could discover a transverse line in the first letter, which made it ΘΣ, i. e. ΘΕΟΣ. In order to ascertain the matter, Dr. Berriman, who was of the orthodox interest, took with him two friends, as witnesses, Messrs. Ridley and Gibson, and examined the manuscript, in the sun, with the assistance of a glass. His report was decidedly in favour of the Trinitarian reading; and he concluded his statement by saying that “if at any time hereafter the old line should become indiscernible, there never will be just reason to doubt but that the genuine reading of this MS. was ΘΣ.” The most curious part, however, of the whole transaction was that Dr. Berriman openly accused his opponent, M. Wettstein, with having admitted to a common friend that he saw the transverse line of the ΘΣ; and the only explanation M. Wettstein was able to make of his concession on this point was that,



Θεον, in Acts, xx. 28, has precisely the same humanizing effect; while the famous verse, 1 John, v. 7,—that long-contested scriptural basis of the doctrine of a Tri-une God,—is now, on all sides, abandoned, as unquestionably spurious.

What then, let me ask, remains to the Protestant who has been taught to acknowledge no other rule of faith than the Written Word, but to surrender at once all belief in a dogma of which the sole props are thus, one by one, taken away? And such unhappily *has* been the result necessarily attendant on that fatal rejection of the ancient authority of Tradition into which so large a portion of the Christian world was hurried rashly by the Reformation\*.

in admitting the fact, he was deceived by the transverse line of an E, on the opposite page, which appeared through the vellum!

After all, however, the Trinitarian reading is now universally abandoned. Jortin saw it to be untenable, and Bishop Marsh resigned it without a struggle.

\* Well may the learned and able Lingard ask, “Have not the Reformed Churches, by rejecting the authority of Tradition, destroyed in effect the authority of Scripture, taken away the certainty of religious belief, and under-

Not only at the mercy of every wind of doctrine that blows from all the countless points of the compass of Private Judgment, but depending for his faith on the various readings of manuscripts, on the position even of semicolons and commas, the Protestant loses, at every step, some hold, some footing in Christianity, and sees the creed of his fathers vanishing, like fairy money, out of his grasp\*.

mined the very foundations of Christianity?"—*Strictures on Dr. Marsh's Comparative View, &c.*

\* How long this catastrophe has been foreseen the following extract from the French Encyclopædia will prove:—"It is certain that the most learned and intelligent amongst them (Protestants) have for some time made considerable advances towards the Antitrinitarian dogmas. Add to this, the spirit of toleration which, happily for humanity, seems to have gained ground in all communions, Catholic as well as Protestant, and you have the true cause of the rapid progress Socinianism has made in our days; of the deep roots it hath cast into most minds, the branches of which continually unfolding and extending themselves cannot fail soon to convert Protestantism, in general, into perfect Socinianism."

This writer falls into the common mistake (as does my friend, indeed, very frequently in these pages) of confounding Socinianism with Unitarianism,—an error now

Far different are the grounds on which the Catholic Church asserts her claims to belief. Holding the Scriptures in one hand, she points, with the other, to the ancient authority of Tradition,—that authority under whose sanction the doctrine “delivered by the Saints” has been handed down, and by which alone the inspiration of the Scriptures themselves can be authenticated. From this apostolical source, before a single word of the New Testament was written, she received, in

become almost too prevalent to be easily got rid of. “Unitarian (says a very ingenious and learned member of that body) has a general, Socinian a specific meaning; every Socinian is an Unitarian, but every Unitarian is not a Socinian. An Unitarian is a believer in the Personal Unity of God; a Socinian is a believer in the Personal Unity of God, who also believes Jesus Christ to be both a man, and an object of religious worship.” So far from Socinianism, according to its true sense, gaining ground, it may be pronounced, on the contrary, wholly extinct; and “if the charge of idolatry,” says the writer just quoted, “can be justly brought against any Christians, which many of us doubt, it is against such as hold Christ to be a man only, and yet pay him divine honours; that is, in fact, against Socinians.”—*Plea for Unitarian Dissenters, by Robert Aspland.*

trust for all time, the imperishable deposit of the two great Christian Mysteries, the Trinity\* and the Real Presence; and these, through chance and change, and among all the defections and heresies that surround her, she has maintained, in their first perfect holiness, to the present hour. It matters not to her safety how Heresy and Schism may, from time to time, raise their bold fronts against her power. In the very first ages of her existence, this rebellion of the Evil Principle began; and the Ebionites denied the Trinity and the Docetæ the Real

\* “Separate not (says St. Basil) the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son: *let Tradition deter you.*” (*Homil. 24, adv. Sabell.*) The following circumstance, mentioned by Erasmus, affords a happy illustration of this point. Giving an account of a slight dispute which he had with Farel, respecting the Invocation of Saints, he says, “‘I asked him, why he rejected this doctrine? and whether it was not because the Scriptures were silent about it?’—‘Yes,’ said he.—‘Show me, then, evidently,’ said I, ‘from the Scriptures, that we ought to invoke the Holy Ghost.’” Farel, when pressed, produced the passage in John, “These three are one;”—but Erasmus, who was one of the many that reject that text, would not admit of his authority.

Presence full as confidently as the Unitarians and the Zwinglians assail those bulwarks of her faith in modern times. It matters not to her Unity how text-hunters and commentators, how all that tribe whom St. Paul styles "the disputers of this world," may succeed in torturing the Word of God by their perverse ingenuity. That unwritten authority, upon which the Scriptures themselves are but a Comment, guides her, safe and triumphant, through a path high above all such disturbing influences.

The strange and startling discovery, upon which Criticism, in its prying course, has lately lighted,—that the three first Gospels are but transcriptions from some older documents, and *not* the works of the writers whose names they bear,—however calculated it may be to strike consternation into Protestants, who find their sole rule of faith thus unsettled, leaves the Church which Christ founded and instructed still secure on her old Apostolical grounds. The lamp of Tradition,

delivered down by the Apostles, at which the light of the Scriptures themselves was kindled, still burns, with saving lustre, in her hands; and, were it possible that every vestige of the Written Word could be swept away, at this moment, from the earth, the Catholic Church would but find herself as she was, before a syllable of the New Testament was written, and remembering the promise of Christ to be “with her all days” would still hold on her course unfaltering and unchanged, the sole “source of Truth and dwelling-place of Faith\*,” to the last.

Here, then, under the safe shelter of this unerring authority, do I finally fix my resting-place,—submitting implicitly to the only guidance which promises peace to the soul, and convinced that Reason which, even in this world’s affairs, proves but a sorry conductress, is, in all heavenly things, a rash and

\* Sola Catholica Ecclesia est quæ verum cultum retinet. Hic est fons veritatis, hoc est domicilium fidei.—*Lactant. Inst. L. 4.*

ruinous guide. The low value which it is plain our Saviour himself set on the inductions of human reason sufficiently shows how little the faith which he came to teach was meant to be amenable to such a tribunal\*. The Apostle Paul denounces the "foolishness of the wisdom of this world," with a warmth and vehemence which leave no doubt that he foresaw mischief to the cause of Christianity from

\* "How did Christ himself proceed?"—says an intelligent writer—"Knowing that that Faith must be very wavering which is built on the sandy foundation of human Reason, he did not so much as once attempt to show the conformity of his Gospel to it; but when Nicodemus, amazed at the strange doctrine of 'being born again,' demanded 'how can these things be?' he only tells him that 'he spake of heavenly things' and 'what he knew,'—urging that as a reason for him 'not to wonder' at it. . . . . He desired them not to believe if they were not satisfied he came from God; but, after being once convinced of that, he exacts an absolute submission; insomuch that when the 'eating his flesh and drinking his blood' was as great 'a scandal' to some of his own disciples as it can be to modern Protestants; and when they began to ask 'How can this man give us his flesh to eat?' he merely reiterates his assertion of the same thing, and seems to have taught this 'hard doctrine' then, on purpose to distinguish who they were that believed his authority."

that source; and the Holy Fathers of the first ages, though so gifted with all human learning themselves, not only knew the nothingness of such gifts in the eyes of a Supreme God, but felt that Faith, paramount Faith, demanded the sacrifice of them all, as well as of stubborn Reason itself, at the foot of the altar.

“When faith is in question,” says St. Ambrose, “away with all arguments!”—“Why do you search into what is inscrutable?” asks St. Ephrem,—“Doing this, you prove your curiosity, not your faith.” St. Chrysostom held it to be no less than blasphemy to attempt to judge of things divine by reason,—seeing “that human reasoning hath nothing in common with the Mysteries of God;” and St. Cyril of Alexandria declares that “in matters of faith, all curiosity must cease\*.”

Nor is it only by these great Church authorities that such limits have been set to the exercise of human judgment. Two of the

\* Το πιστει παραδεκτον απολυπραγμονητον ειναι χρη.



greatest masters of the faculty of reasoning that ever existed,—the one commanding its most comprehensive range, the other wielding its acutest subtleties,—have alike advanced the same Catholic and, I may add, philosophic opinion. “We must not,” says the wise Lord Bacon, “submit the mysteries of Faith to our Reason;” and the acute Bayle agrees with him:—“Si la Raison étoit d’accord avec elle-même, on devroit être plus fâché qu’elle s’accordât mal aisément avec quelques-uns de nos articles de Religion; mais c’est une coureuse qui ne sait où s’arrêter, et qui comme une autre Pénélope détruit elle-même son propre ouvrage—‘diruit, ædificat, mutat quadrata rotundis.’ *Elle est plus propre à démolir qu’à bâtir; elle connoit mieux ce que les choses ne sont pas que ce qu’elles sont\**.”

Seeing thus the judgment pronounced

\* This keen truth is put even more pointedly in the words of Lactantius, whom he cites:—“Ita philosophi quod summum fuit humanæ scientiæ assecuti sunt, ut intelligerent quid non sit; illud assequi nequiverunt, ut dicerent quid sit.”

in Scripture, and in the writings of the Fathers, respecting the utter unfitness of Reason to be the judge of Faith, confirmed by the opinions of men so accomplished in all the wisdom of this world, and finding, still further, a but too convincing corroboration of the same truth in the ruin brought upon Christianity wherever Reason has been allowed to career through its mysteries, I could not hesitate as to the conclusion to which my mind should come. “Either Catholic or Deist,” said Fenelon, “there is no other alternative;”—and the appearance which the Christian world wears, at this moment, fully justifies his assertion\*.

\* Much the same process, indeed, as we know took place in the mind of a celebrated searcher of the Scriptures, Doctor Priestley, must, sooner or later, and in a more or less degree, operate throughout a whole nation of searchers. Beginning, as he himself confesses, by being a Calvinist, and that of the strictest sort, he became afterwards a high Arian, next a low Arian, then a Socinian, and, in a little time, a Socinian of that lowest scheme, in which Christ is considered as a mere man, the son of Joseph and Mary, and naturally as fallible and peccable as Moses or any other prophet. Even at this stage, too, the Doctor honestly

Hail, then, to thee, thou one and only true Church, which art alone the way of life, and in whose tabernacle alone there is shelter from all this confusion of tongues. In the shadow of thy sacred Mysteries let my soul henceforth repose, remote alike from the infidel who scoffs at their darkness, and the rash believer who vainly would pry into its recesses;—saying to both, in the language of St. Augustine, “Do you reason, while I wonder; do you dispute, while I shall believe;

avowed, that “he did not know when his creed would be fixed.”

In like manner, Chillingworth, the great modern promoter of the cry of “the Bible, the whole Bible,” &c. passed from Protestantism to Popery, from Popery back to Protestantism again, then repented almost immediately his reconversion, and, in the end, died, it is supposed, a Socinian. How far gone he was in this latter direction even at the time when he wrote his famous Protestant work, appears from a letter which he wrote to a friend, while employed on that task, and in which, after referring to some ancient authorities, on the subject of the Trinity, he says that whosoever shall freely and impartially consider the matter “shall not choose but confess, or at least be very *inclinable to believe, that the doctrine of Arius is either a truth or at least no damnable heresy.*”—See *Life prefixed to his Works.*

and, beholding the heights of Divine Power, forbear to approach its depths\*.”

\* Tu ratiocinare, ego miror. Tu disputa, ego credam : altitudinem video, ad profundum non pervenio.—He adds, “To you who come to scrutinize what is inscrutable, and to investigate what cannot be investigated, I say, Stop, and Believe,—or you perish!”

## NOTES.

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Page 132.

IN the sermons published by the Executors of Dr. Crisp, one of the founders of Antinomianism in England, it is asserted, (on the authority of the text, "He hath made him to be sin for us,") that Christ was actually Sin itself!

Page 176.

*"Dispositions of Luther towards the Jews."*

Severam deinde sententiam adversus eos promit, censetque, synagogas illorum funditus destruendas, domos quoque diruendas, libros precationum et Talmudicos omnes . . . . immo et ipsos sacros codices Veteris Testamenti, quia illis tam malè utuntur, auferendos, &c. &c.—*Seckendorf. Comm. de Luth. lib. 3, sect. 27.*

Such was the tolerance of this champion of Private Judgment! Even Seckendorf thinks it right to affix a brand of disapprobation to such sentiments:—"Acria hæc sunt, et quæ approbationem non invenerunt."

Page 197.

The ministers of Geneva, in their Declaration in answer to D'Alembert's Article *Genève*, in the Encyclopédie, said that they had for Jesus Christ "*plus que du respect.*"

Page 209.

“*Negative code of Christianity.*”

“The greatest unity the Protestants have, is not in believing, but in not believing; in knowing rather what they are against than what they are for; not so much in knowing what they would have, as in knowing what they would not have. But let these negative Religions take heed they meet not with a negative Salvation.”—*Marquis of Worcester's Paper in his Conference with Charles I. at Ragland.*

Page 212.

Boxhornius, the grandfather of the celebrated Marcus Zuerius, was also one of those who gave up the Church for a wife, at the time of the Reformation. “Lorsqu'il fût question (says Baillet) de prendre une femme à la place de son Breviaire, et de se rendre hommes de qualité, il se dit de la Maison de Boxhorns, noblesse connue dans le Brabant.”—*Anti-Cuyckius.*

Page 225.

As the almost incredible grossness of this scene, at the Black Bear, might well induce some suspicion as to my friend's fidelity in describing it, I think it right to extract the passage of Hospinian from which he has taken his account:—“Tandem hinc inde multis inter ipsos permutatis sermonibus exacerbato utrinque animo Lutherus Carlostadium ut contra se publicè scribat, invitat. Simul ex concitato isto animi fervore aureum nummum extractum

ex pera ipsi offert, inquit, ‘ En accipe, et quantum potes animosè contra me dimica. Age, verò, vergas in me alacriter.’ Quod etsi recusaret primùm Carlostadius, et rem cognitioni piæ permittendam moneret ac peteret, tandem, cum urgeretur, hunc aureum nummum accepturum se respondit, eumque omnibus astantibus ostendens, dixit ‘ En, chari fratres, istud est signum et arrabo, quod potestatem acceperim contra doctorem Lutherum scribendi. Rogo itaque vos, ut ejus rei testes esse velitis.’ Cumque aureum nummum marsupio suo recondidisset, Luthero manum in sponsionem pactæ et susceptæ contentionis porrexit, pro cujus confirmatione Lutherus ipsi vicissim haustum vini propinavit, adhortans eum, ne sibi parceret, sed quantò vehementius et animosius contra se ageret, tantò illum sibi chariorem futurum.” *Hist. Sacram. Pars Altera, de primâ origine Certaminis Sacramentariï.*

Hospinian adds, “ Hæc te, Christiane lector, fuerunt infelicissimi istius Certaminis, quod ex pacto et sponsione susceptum, tot jam annis Ecclesiam gravissimè exerceuit, infausta auspicia.”

Page 244.

The following is a specimen of the views of Zanchius on this head:—“ Damus reprobos necessitate peccandi eoque et pereundi ex hac Dei ordinatione constringi, atque ita constringi, ut neque aut non peccare et perire.”—“ We grant that reprobates are constrained by a necessity of sinning, and therefore of perishing through this ordination of God, and that they are constrained in such a manner as to be unable to do otherwise than sin and perish.”

Page 268.

“ *A provision for future changes, &c.*”

This was entirely on the principle of the Socinians, of whose Catechism Mosheim says:—“ It never obtained among them the authority of a public Confession or rule of faith; and hence the Doctors of that sect were authorized to correct and contradict it, or to substitute another form of doctrine in its place.”

Accordingly, in a subsequent Edition of this Catechism published by Crellius, Schlichtingius, and the Wissowatü, some parts were altered, and others corrected.

Page 276.

“ Their Liturgie, (which began in the nonage reign of Edward VI. and, after some years’ interruption, got stronger footing by an Act of Parliament in Queen Elizabeth’s day, and so was become almost of fourscore years’ prescription, half as old as one of our grandfathers) is decried, antiquated by the present Parliament, condemned by the people, and succeeded by a new thing called a Directory of four or five years’ unquiet standing, which already begins to lose credit with its first acceptors.”  
—*Dr. Carier’s Motives, &c.*, 1649.

Page 288.

It would appear that Antinomianism still flourishes, to a frightful extent, in England. Robert Hall, in one of his Sermons, says, “ While Antinomianism is making rapid strides through the land, and has already convulsed



and disorganized so many of our Churches." A recent writer, too, in speaking of Dr. Hawkins, who, like the founder of the English Antinomians, Dr. Crisp, belongs to the Church of England, says, "his books and converts have infected our churches as with a kind of pestilence, and are perverting the minds of multitudes within the pale of the establishment."—*James on Dissent.*

Page 289.

Few have laid open more powerfully than does the illustrious Grotius the baleful workings of the Calvinistic doctrine. His opponent, Rivetus, having complained that there was no longer the means of providing fit and proper ministers for the Consistories, Grotius remarks, that in the Churches of former times, though there were not then so many rich people as among the followers of Rivetus, there was yet an abundant supply for all such purposes;—the doctrine of imputed justice having not yet chilled their hearts to charity and good works:—"Cur ergo illa necessaria nunc minus suppetunt? Quia non docentur nunc ea de necessitate ac dignatione operum liberalitatis et misericordiæ quæ olim docebantur. Justitia imputata frigus injecit et plebi et plebis ducibus."—*In Rivet. Apolog. Discuss.* Of the doctrine of Perseverance, Grotius truly says, "Nullum potuit in Christianismum induci dogma perniciosius quam hoc." He adds, "None of the ancients taught this doctrine; none of them would have borne its being taught"—*Hoc nemo veterum docuit; nemo docentem tulisset.*—*In Animadv. pro suis ad Cassandrum notis.* By Beza it was held that David, even when polluted with

adultery and homicide, did not lose the Holy Spirit, nor the less continue to be a man after God's own heart:—  
 “ Non desiit tamen tunc temporis esse vir secundum cor Dei.”

Page 313.

J'ai voulu indiquer comment les croyances Protestantes ont dû disparôître toutes, et laisser la religion vacantes dans leurs contrées respectives . . . . . J'ai la conscience intime d'avoir écrit sans passion et je donne comme résultat certain, d'après mes recherches et mes méditations la disposition totale du Protestantisme. Il n'y a réellement, plus de Lutheriens ni de Calvinistes : il n'y a plus de mystiques dans les rangs des Réformés ; il ne s'y trouve même plus de Sociniens ; on n'y reconnoît qu'une masse de sentimens confus composés de raisonnemens et de sensations indefinées.

Page 321.

“ Roman Catholics (says Plowden) rejoice to find such honour done to their doctrine of submitting private to the Church's public interpretations of the Scriptures, when the Vigornian prelate (Hurd) puts St. Augustine's words to the Manichæans into the mouth of his deceased friend (Warburton) to strike dumb and confound some modern *free interpreters of the Word*—‘ Ye who believe what you will in the Gospel and disbelieve what you will, assuredly believe not the Gospel itself, but yourselves only.’”

## Page 323.

In addition to the difficulties thrown in the way of a clear understanding of the Scriptures, by the incorrectness of translators, by false punctuation, &c. &c. are to be taken into account also such corruptions of the meaning of the text as may have arisen from design. Thus, in an edition printed in 166 , the verse in Acts vi. 3, referring to the choosing of Deacons, stands thus, " Wherefore, brethren, look ye out among you seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, whom ye may appoint over this business," instead of " we may appoint,"—an alteration intended, it is supposed, for the purpose of establishing the people's power, not only in electing but also ordaining their ministers. A misrepresentation of the meaning of Scripture, for a like covert purpose, occurs in the quarto Bible printed in Queen Anne's time, 1708, where the heading or contents prefixed to the 149th Psalm run thus: " The Prophet exhorteth to praise God for his love to the Church and for that power which he hath given to the Church *to rule the consciences of men.*" This innovation on the edition of 1614, (where the heading is, " An exhortation to the Church to praise the Lord for his victory and conquest that he giveth his saints against all man's power") was supposed to have been introduced by the partizans of the Stuarts, for the purpose of sanctioning their arbitrary principles.

## Page 325.

By no writer have the difficulties of expounding Scripture been set forth, with more alarming force, than by the

great Jeremy Taylor himself, in the following passage of his *Liberty of Prophesying*:—" Since there are so many copies (of Scripture) with infinite variations of reading ; since a various interpunction, a parenthesis, a letter, an accent, may much alter the sense ; since some places have divers literal senses, may have spiritual, mystical and allegorical meanings ; since there are so many tropes, metonymies, ironies, hyperboles, proprieties and improprieties of language, whose understanding depends upon such circumstances that it is almost impossible to know the proper interpretation . . . . . since there are some mysteries which, at the best advantage of expression, are not easy to be apprehended, and whose explication, by reason of our imperfection, must needs be dark and sometimes unintelligible ; and, lastly, since these ordinary means of expounding Scripture, as searching the originals, conference of places, parity of reason, analogy of faith, are all dubious, uncertain and very fallible, he that is the wisest and by consequence the likeliest to expound truest in all probability of reason will be very far from confidence, because every one of these, and many more, are like so many degrees of improbability and uncertainty, all depressing our certainty of finding out truth in such mysteries and amidst so many difficulties."—*Liberty of Prophesying*, sect. 4.

Yet this is the Book, so awfully beset with difficulties, which those ineffable blockheads of the Second Reformation, in Ireland, the \* \* s, \* \* s, &c., would throw open, by wholesale, to the indiscriminate perusal of the multitude !

## Page 326.

“ St. August. Lib. de Hæres. numbereth ninety several heresies (so many Reformations were they) sprung up between Christ’s time and his—i. e. in about four centuries. So many more rose between St. Augustine’s days and Luther’s—i. e. one hundred and eighty heresies in fifteen hundred years. Betwixt Luther’s apostasy from St. Austin’s rule and defection from the Catholic Church in 1517 and the year 1595 (which is but an interval of seventy-eight years) modern authors, Staphilus, Hosius, Prateolus, and others do reckon two hundred and seventy new sects, all Reformations of what was some days or some hours before.”—*Dr. Carier’s Motives, &c.*

## Page 327.

The Protestant Episcopus was at least consistent when, from his persuasion of the fallibility of all modern translations, he insisted that all sorts of persons, labourers, sailors, women, &c., ought to learn Hebrew and Greck.

## Page 327.

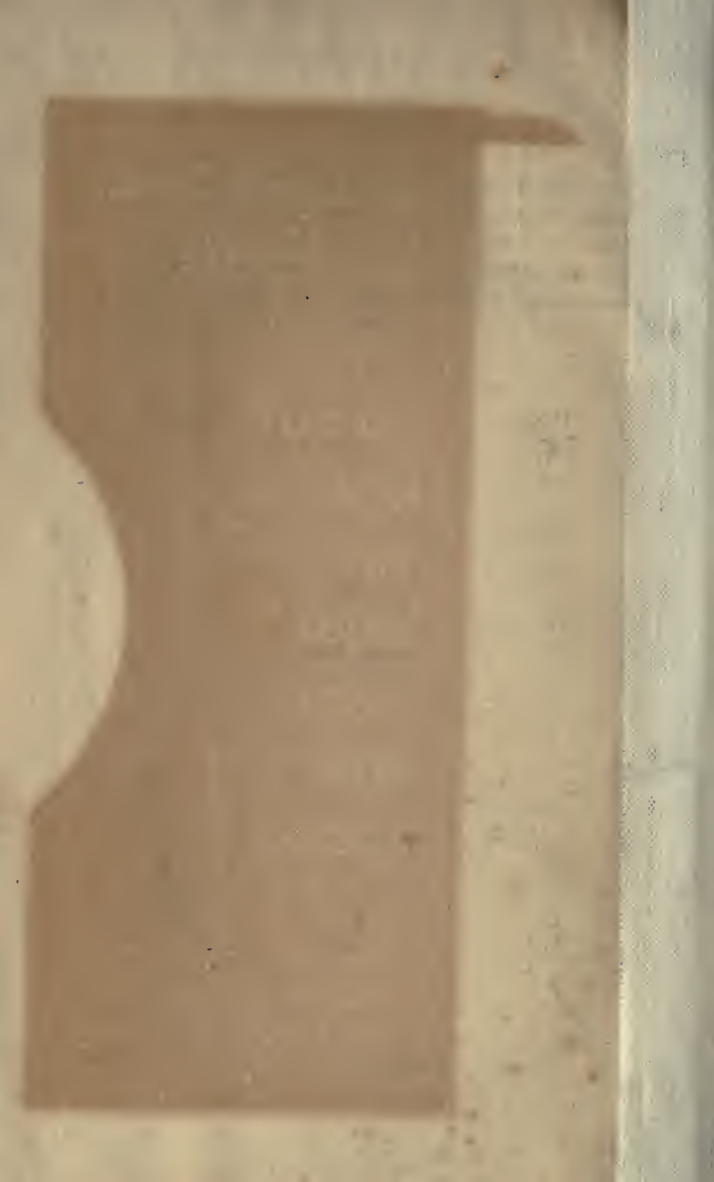
“ *Obscurity in the meaning of Scripture.*”

In speaking of what are called plain texts, which, as he alleges, all parties claim on their side, and much wonder that their adversaries can mistake their meaning, an acute sceptical writer says, “ The plain texts, from St. Austin’s days, at least in the West, were all in favour of Predestination, and upon those plain texts the Articles of our Church and all other Protestant Churches were founded. It is true in Queen Elizabeth’s time there were some few among the inferior Clergy for Free-Will; but

then those 'incorrigible Free-will men,' as they were called, were, by direction of the Bishops, sent to prison. . . . . But since the Court in Charles the First's time helped to open the eyes of our divines, they, no longer blinded by their Articles, clearly see that all those plain texts are all for Free-Will."

THE END.







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